

AN
HISTORY

Of the Memorable and Extraordinary Calamities of

MARGARET of ANJOU,
QUEEN of ENGLAND;

Wherein may be seen the Inconstancy of Fortune, the Changes of Courts, and the Miseries of human Life, to which Crowns and Sceptres are subject.

By the Chevalier *MICHAEL BAUDIER*, Gentleman of the King's Household, Knight of the Order of *St. Michael*, Counsellor and Historiographer of his Majesty *LOUIS XIII.* King of *France*.

Translated out of the original Manuscript, which hath never yet been printed; and is preserved among the MSS. of the late Duke of *COISLIN*, Bishop of *METS*, in the Library of the Abbey of *St. Germain des Prez* at *Paris*.

L O N D O N:

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

THE Chevalier *Baudier*, Author of the following History, besides other Dignities which distinguished him in the Court of *Louis XIII.* King of *France*, enjoyed that of Historiographer Royal, in a Country where nothing is more scandalous than to be unemployed, or to make a *Sine Cure* of a Charge, and where it is necessary for a Man to be useful, if he expects to be esteemed. M. *Baudier* pursuing the general Maxims of his Nation, and of the Age wherein he lived, was led by his own Taste, and directed by the Nature and Design of the Post he enjoyed, to employ his time in compiling historical Works; which laying before the World the great Examples, and perpetuating the Merit

of illustrious Persons in former Ages, might serve for an Instruction to the present, and raise an Emulation even in the latest Posterity.

WITH this View, and perhaps incited by some Indignation at the arbitrary Conduct of the Ministers of State, in whose Time he lived, he undertook to write the History of the Ministry of Abbé *Suger*, who being entirely disinterested in his Nature, employed his admirable Judgment and Talents to secure equally the Rights of the Crown, the Privileges of the Subject, and the Happiness of the Kingdom; thereby deserving to be set forth as a Patern for Ministers in all Ages. This great Man was Abbot of the famous *Benedictine* Monastery of *St. Denis*; and having been chief Minister under *Louis le Gros*, and distinguished himself in that Charge by his Fidelity, Vigilance and Capacity, had upon the Death of that Prince, the same Authority

The P R E F A C E.

v

thority continued to him during the Youth of his Son, and was made Regent of *France* during the Absence of *Louis VII.* surnamed *Le Jeune*, when he engaged in an Expedition to the *Holy Land*. This Work of *M. Baudier*, entitled, *Histoire del' Administration de L'Abbé Suger*, was published in 4th, and printed at *Paris*, *A. D.* 1645.

THE famous Cardinal *George D'Amboise*, Archbishop of *Rouen*, was first Minister to *Louis XII.* from the Beginning of that Prince's Reign, till he died at *Lyons* May 25, 1510, at the Age of fifty Years, infinitely regretted by the King, and by all the World, who equally esteemed and loved him, for the Wisdom of his Counsels, the Humanity of his Temper, the Integrity of his Heart, the Encouragement he gave to Learning, the Moderation with which he used his Power, and the Blessings which they enjoyed under his Administration.

ministration. It was rare to see a Cardinal content with a single Benefice, and a chief Minister governing without either Haughtiness or Avarice, distinguishing himself by numberless Acts of Generosity to others, at the same time that he never ask'd any thing of his Prince for himself, and proposing no End in the whole Course of his Conduct, but the Glory of his Master, the Happiness of his People, and the general Good of the Kingdom. Hence arose those Elogiums so justly given to the Reign of that King by the President *De Thou*, and other *French* Historians, who all speak of it as of the time, when the Laws were in their greatest Vigour and had the freest Course; when the People were not only the happiest, but the most sensible of their own Happiness, and satisfied that they owed it to the Prudence, Care and Tenderness of their Governors; and who in a Word, agree

in recommending it as the most perfect Model of good Government that hath ever been seen in their Nation. The Memory of this great Man, so infinitely beloved whilst he was living, and so universally honoured when dead, ought to have been sacred to Posterity, and did indeed remain untarnished for a hundred and twenty Years after his Death ; but Malignity and Corruption can find their Ends in attacking the best established Characters. One *John Sirmond* of the *French* Academy, a little Flatterer of the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, whose Defence he had undertaken against such as found Fault with his Administration, thought he could not make his Court to his Patron better than by depreciating all the great and good Actions of the Cardinal *D'Amboise*, and by discovering the Defects of that Minister of *Louis XII*, in order to represent *Richelieu* as the greater Man, and
raise

raise his Glory upon the Ruins of the other's Reputation. Such (as M. *Pelisson* says) was the View of this Writer, who under the fictitious Name of the *Sieur des Montagnes*, publish'd his Work at *Paris* in 1631, under the Title of *Vie du Cardinal d'Amboise Ministre d'Etat sous Louis XII, ensuite de la quelle sont traitees quelques points sur les affaires presentes.*

To vindicate the Conduct of the injured Cardinal from the Misrepresentations of that corrupt Writer, and to do some Justice to his Memory, M. *Baudier* wrote his *Histoire de L'Administration du Cardinal D'Amboise, Grand Ministre D'Etat en France, où se lisent les effets de la Sagesse politique; ensemble les felicittez de la France sous un bon Gouvernement.* This was printed in 4^{to} at *Paris* 1634, and (as *Pere le Long* says) met with a much more favourable Reception than the Life before-
men-

The P R E F A C E.

ix

mention'd ; being generally esteem'd by the learned World.

M. *Baudier* afterwards wrote an Account of the Campaign of *Italy* in 1640, and published it at *Paris* in 1641, under the Title of *Le Soldat Piedmontois, revenant du Camp de Turin, &c.* He was likewise the Author of the History of the *Mareschal de Toiras*, which contains a great Part of the publick Transactions in *France* under the Reign of *Louis XIII.* This Book was first published at *Paris* in Folio, *A. D.* 1644, and afterwards underwent another Edition in a lesser Size in 1666. There are some other Works ascribed to the same Author, particularly an *Account of the Court of China.* *An History of the Seraglio and Religion of the Turks*, and a *Life of the Cardinal Ximenes* : But these are not mentioned by *Pere le Long*, in his *Bibliothèque Historique*, the Design of which Work only led
a him

him to take Notice of such Works as some way or other concerned the Affairs of *France*.

THERE are two Histories of our Author still preserved in Manuscript in the Library of the Abbey of *St. Germain des Prez* at *Paris*, to which they were left by the late Duke of *Coislin* Bishop of *Metz*, Grandson to the learned Chancellor *Seguier*, who thought them worthy of a Place in in his famous Library. As these contain chiefly Accounts of *English* Affairs, and the *French* are generally little curious of any thing that doth not concern their own Country, they have not yet been printed. One of them is an *History of the Administration of Cardinal Wolsey*, the other is the History of Queen *Margaret* mentioned by *Pere le Long* in his *Bibliothèque*, N^o 17407, the Translation whereof is now offered to the World.

The P R E F A C E.

xi

IN this History M. *Baudier* in Imitation of the old *Greek* and *Roman* Historians, hath thought fit upon Occasion, to put some Speeches into the Mouths of great Men, when they were either assisting in Councils or entering upon Actions, and to represent therein the Reasons and Motives of their Conduct and Resolutions. This is only a fashionable Mode in Writing; but in all other Points he appears to be a faithful and exact Historian: He relates several Facts not taken Notice of by any of our *English* Writers, but deriving them from *French* Historians who lived in the Time that such Facts happened, he is well supported in those Relations.

THERE never were in any Age so many great and sudden Revolutions in *England*, as happened in the Times whereof he writes; so that his Subject naturally led and obliged him to mention an almost infinite

Number

Number of surprizing Events and Turns of Fortune, all contributing to his Design of shewing the strange Vicissitude of human Affairs, and of inculcating to Princes and great Men that they have no Privilege of Exemption from the Miseries of Life any more than Persons in lower Stations. These Revolutions, the various Circumstances, Occasions and Causes whereof are here related, and clearly accounted for, cannot well fail of rendering the Work curious as well as entertaining to an *English* Reader: And though the Author hath almost always directed his Reflections and Instructions to Princes and great Men, yet People of all Ranks, even of the lowest Condition of Life, may thence learn to bear their own Difficulties and Misfortunes with the greater Patience and Resignation of Mind, when they see to what terrible Calamities and Distresses the greatest are subject.

HISTORY

HISTORY

OF

MARGARET of ANJOU,

QUEEN of ENGLAND.

WHEN a Man enters into the World,
he enters at the same time into all
the Miseries of Life ; Nature having united
living and suffering so closely together, that
she hath in a Manner rendered them in-
separable. But among all Sufferers, none
certainly feel their Misfortunes more than
such as have been most indebted to For-
tune for the Enjoyment of Dignities, and
have passed through great Prosperities, by a
reverse of Fate, to as great Miseries. Some
illustrious Examples of this Truth may be
seen in the following History.

B

DISCORD

*State of
the Affairs
of France.*

DISCORD had made its way into the Royal Palace of *France*, and had introduced Hatred and Division among Princes of the same Blood. *Charles VI.* who was seated on the Throne of that Kingdom, had, contrary to the fundamental Laws of the State, disinherited his eldest Son the *Dauphine*; and had been prevailed with, by the Instigation of *Isabel of Bavaria*, his Wife, and the Intrigues of *Philip the Hardy*, Duke of *Burgundy*, to invite *Henry V.* King of *England* to take Possession of the Kingdom, which he gave him in the way of a Portion with his Daughter *Catherine of France*. Several Towns took an Oath of Allegiance to this *English* Prince, and the Generality of the *French* acknowledged him as Successor to their King. But Death, which took away his Life at the *Bois de Vincennes*, took away likewise from him the Hopes of getting Possession of the finest Part of *Europe*. He was succeeded by his Son *Henry VI.* a Child, not yet out of his Cradle. This Infant Prince enjoyed two Crowns and sway'd two Scepters, without knowing any thing

of either. *France* and *England* received him for their King: The Duke of *Bedford* was appointed Regent in one of these Realms, as the Duke of *Gloucester* was in the other. They were both of them Uncles to the King, and took upon them the Care of the Administration, and the Government of the People in his Name. Fortune seemed to favour the Infancy of this new Prince, in order to afflict him more heavily afterwards in the Flower of his Age. He came to *Paris* when he was eight Years old, and was there crowned King of *France* in the Church of *Notre Dame*: But what had been given him out of Passion, was taken from him by Justice and Valour. In less than fifteen Years he lost all that he had ever possessed in *France*; of so little Duration are unjust Acquisitions.

ABOUT thirteen or fourteen Years after this Event, he sent over into *France* William *de la Poole* Earl of *Suffolk*, Dr. *Adam Molins* Keeper of the Privy Seal, Sir *Robert Rose*, with some others, to invite his Uncle King *Charles VII.* to a Peace. The Ambassadors of

Truce between
England
and
France.

The HISTORY of

both Princes met at *Tours*, and there began that important Negotiation which concluded in a Truce of eighteen Months, signed on the twentieth Day of *May A. D. 1444*, and prolonged afterwards, not without Hopes in both Kingdoms, that it would produce a Peace before it expired.

DURING this Truce a Gentleman of *Anjou*, who had been a Prisoner of War in *England*, and was suffered to go at large upon his *Parole*, made his Escape out of that Country, and returned into *France*. *Henry* wrote upon that Subject to King *Charles VII.* and espousing the Cause of the Person who had taken him Prisoner in lawful War, related the Fact, complained of the *Angevin's* Escape, and demanded him back with pressing Instances.

Letter of
Henry
VI. King
of Eng-
land, to
Charles
VII. of
France.

THE Letter which he wrote on this Occasion to *Charles*, we have thought proper to be inserted in this History, together with another of his to the same Prince, both of them serving for lively Representations of the Stile and Plainness of that Age, which though inferior to ours in the Beauty of

Lan-

Language, surpassed it much in Candour and Sincerity. These Letters (the Originals of which are in my Hands) were very kindly furnish'd me by Monsieur Uxon, Sir D. Herouval, Auditor of the *Chambre des Comptes* at *Paris*, a Person learned in our History, diligent in the Search of Antiquity, and very generous in communicating his Manuscripts to such as are engaged in any publick Work. The Letter of *Henry VI.* of *England*, to his Uncle *Charles VII.* is addressed in the Superscription to the Most High and Mighty Prince and our most dear Uncle of *France*; and is expressed in the following Terms:

“ To the Most High and Mighty Prince,
 “ our dear Uncle of *France*, *Henry* by the
 “ Grace of God, King of *France* and *Eng-*
 “ *land*, sendeth greeting; with intire good
 “ Will and firm Peace, good Union and
 “ Concord.

“ Most High and Mighty Prince, our
 “ dear Uncle; it is about three Years ago
 “ since we wrote you Word, how a Knight

“ of the Country of *Anjou*, of your Party,
“ named *Guy de Champchenrier*, being a
“ lawful Prisoner of War to our beloved
“ and faithful Sir *John Fastolfe*, one of the
“ Knights of the Order of the Garter, had
“ made his Escape out of the Confinement
“ graciously appointed him by his Master
“ Sir *John Fastolfe*, and violating his Faith
“ and the Oaths solemnly taken by the
“ said Prisoner on the true Body of our
“ Lord Jesus Christ, (which at his Re-
“ quest was presented to him) and is gone
“ beyond Sea to your said Party. And
“ moreover, as we have been informed by
“ authentick Evidence, that the said *de*
“ *Champchenrier*, contrary to the Honour
“ of a Gentleman, hath privately carried
“ off an Horse and other Goods belonging
“ to some of our liege Subjects, thereby
“ committing a notorious Breach of the
“ Articles of the Truce, then and still sub-
“ sisting between us and you. And foras-
“ much as we desire, with all our Heart, to
“ have the said Truce kept and observed in-
“ violably, and Offenders against it to be
“ punished,

MARGARET OF ANJOU.

7

" punish'd, according to the Exigence of their
 " Cases, as Justice requires, we have used very
 " pressing Instances several Times, that you
 " would put the Body of the said *Guy* in
 " arrest, and send him under a safe Convoy
 " into our Kingdom of *England*, there ei-
 " ther to clear himself of the said Accusa-
 " tion, according to the Laws and Customs
 " of this our Realm of *England*, or to re-
 " ceive such Punishment and Correction as
 " his Crime shall deserve. Upon this Mat-
 " ter several Conferences have been held,
 " (that is to say) by the *Comte de Dunois*,
 " *Bertrand de Beauvau*, *Sire de Percigny*,
 " and Master *William Cousinot* on your Part,
 " and by the Lord *Dudley*, *William Cheva-*
 " *lier*, and others on our Part, of which
 " we judge you have had full Information.
 " However, though a tedious Prosecution
 " has been carried on, and very pressing In-
 " stances have been used, as well with you
 " as with the Members of your great Coun-
 " cil, before which the said *Guy* made his
 " Appearance; yet the Accomplishment of
 " our said Request hath always been de-
 " layed,

" layed, and no Effect hath as yet followed
 " from these Measures, to the great Ob-
 " struction of Justice, and contrary to the
 " Tenor of the said Truce. For this Rea-
 " son, Most High and Mighty Prince our
 " dearest Uncle, we do again pray and re-
 " quire you, in the most cordial Manner
 " we are able, that without suffering this
 " Affair to be drawn out by Arts of Diffi-
 " cultation to any further Delay, you
 " would instantly cause the said *Guy de*
 " *Champchenrier* to be brought under a sure
 " Guard into some of the Territories under
 " our Subjection, and that he be delivered
 " up a Prisoner, in some safe Place of our
 " Dominions, to our Bailiffs of *Costentin* or
 " *Alençon*, or to others of our Officers at
 " *Cherbourg*, or to some one of them, whom
 " we have ordered and appointed to receive
 " him and keep him in Custody under our
 " Authority, and to give a Note and Re-
 " ceipt in our Name, if necessary. That
 " the said *Guy* being thus put into our
 " Hands, Justice may be done him by us,
 " and administred according to the Crime
 " whereof

MARGARET of ANJOU.

“ whereof he is accused ; as is sitting, and
“ according to the said Truce ought to be
“ done ; and that you would be pleased to
“ cause this to be done with all possible Dili-
“ gence, that we may have no further Oc-
“ casion of writing to you, and as you
“ would desire that we should do at your
“ Request in the like Case. And that the
“ said Night, the Prisoner in Question,
“ may be more safely brought into our
“ Territories, and delivered up into the
“ Hands of our Officers, we have ordered
“ *Huntingdon* the Herald, the Bearer of this,
“ to attend and conduct the said Prisoner,
“ and your Convoy which shall bring him
“ with Safety into our Territories. Most
“ High and Mighty Prince, our dearest
“ Uncle, we pray the Blessed Son of God
“ to grant you the Accomplishment of all
“ your gracious Desires. *Dated at our Ca-*
“ *stle of Windsor, the third Day of Febru-*
“ *ary 1444.*

HENRY.

*Treaty of
Marriage
between
Henry VI.
and Mar-
garet of
Anjou.*

It was hoped that the Truce above-mentioned would end in a Peace : and to facilitate that Matter, *Henry* formed a Design to ally himself by a Marriage to *France*, as he was descended thence by Queen *Catherine* his Mother. With this View, he made by his Ambassadors, a Demand of *Margaret* (Daughter of *René* Duke of *Anjou* and King of *Sicily*) Cousin German to his Most Christian Majesty ; a Princess who had to the Beauties of her Body added all the Perfections of the Mind. She was endowed with an excellent Understanding, Sagacity and Prudence ; very reasonable and considerate, diligent in all her Designs, and with her other admirable Qualities, she was likewise perfectly handsome. *René* her Father granted her to King *Henry* ; and in the same Year the Earl of *Suffolk* came to *Nancy* with a very noble Train of Ladies and Gentlemen to fetch and conduct her into *England*.

*Letter of
Henry VI.
on that
Occasion.*

THE Letter which he brought from King *Henry* on this Occasion was addressed as that before-mentioned : And is as followeth :

“ Most

“ Most High, most Excellent, and most
“ Mighty Prince our dearest Uncle of
“ *France, Henry* by the Grace of God,
“ King of *France* and *England*, your Ne-
“ phew, sendeth greeting, and also cordial
“ and entire Affection in all good and per-
“ fect Concord and mutual Love. Most
“ High and most Excellent Prince, our
“ dearest Uncle, we have receiv’d by our
“ well beloved *Garter* King of Arms our
“ Herald, your most affable and friendly
“ Letters, by which of your great Courtesy
“ you signify the good Prosperity of your
“ most noble Person, which has caused in
“ us a singular Joy and great Pleasure. And
“ by the Tenour thereof we are made sen-
“ sible, (as indeed we have been before) of
“ the great Affection and good Desire which
“ you have to the settling of a Peace; and
“ that you had Thoughts of sending your
“ Ambassadors to us for the speedy Accom-
“ plishment of the Treaty that hath been
“ commenced, and to expedite the coming
“ to us of our dearest and most beloved
“ Queen your Niece. For these Things,
“ which

The HISTORY of

“ which are very satisfactory and agreeable
 “ to us, we thank you with all the Af-
 “ fection and Cordiality we are able.

“ As for the Settlement of a Peace, we
 “ know every Day more and more that
 “ your noble Heart is inclined thereunto ;
 “ which is the greatest Consolation to the
 “ poor People, whom we see, not without
 “ much Compassion, terribly afflicted and
 “ languishing by Means of the mortal Wars
 “ and perillous Divisions which have too
 “ long continued between you and us, and
 “ the Predecessors of us both, to the most
 “ abominable and miserable Effusion of
 “ human Blood, the Diminution of the
 “ Nobility, and the doleful Disturbance of
 “ *Christianity* ; to which Settlement of
 “ Peace we are also inclined, for the Ho-
 “ nour and Preservation of the antient Re-
 “ nown of the Faith and Valour of the il-
 “ lustrious Houses from which we are
 “ both descended, by the Grace of the Al-
 “ mighty, who of his great Goodness hath
 “ been pleased to ordain and appoint us the
 “ principal Protectors and Defenders of his
 “ Holy

“ Holy Catholick Faith, and seems to have
 “ reserved us (if we do our Duty) to put
 “ an End and Conclusion to the Accom-
 “ modation of the two Kingdoms, and
 “ to repair the Things that are fallen to
 “ ruin, which was never done by our noble
 “ and excellent Progenitors. The Blessed
 “ Son of God, of his Mercy grant that we
 “ may both act worthy of so extraordinary
 “ a Grace and Honour.

“ WITH REGARD to the hastening of the
 “ coming of our said Consort, which we
 “ desire above all worldly Things; in which
 “ Point, you out of your great Concern,
 “ have given us the greatest Hopes and
 “ Comfort; for which we most assuredly
 “ and heartily thank you: You have been
 “ pleased to give us sufficiently to under-
 “ stand, that notwithstanding the Causes
 “ contained in your said Letters, and al-
 “ ledged by the most High and Mighty
 “ Prince our most dear and beloved Fa-
 “ ther the King of *Sicily*, *i. e.* that if she
 “ was not adorned and embellished with
 “ all that gallant Attire which was suitable

“ to her Quality, and might belong to her,
 “ as well in Honour to us as in Regard to
 “ the House from which she is descended,
 “ we would however take it in good Part
 “ and bear it agreeably, not ascribing it to
 “ any Contempt or Neglect, but purely to
 “ the Shortness of the Time, and our eager
 “ and impatient Desire of her coming;
 “ yet out of Complaisance to us, you were
 “ willing and ready to deliver her, and
 “ would send her honourably attended as
 “ soon as our most dear and beloved Cou-
 “ sin the Marquis of *Suffolk*, whom we
 “ have appointed, to receive and conduct
 “ her to us should be arrived beyond Sea,
 “ and that you had talked and conferred
 “ with him upon this and other things as
 “ you desired, which was very expedient
 “ for the great Good and Service of the
 “ above-mentioned Affair of the Peace:
 “ And this being done you would immedi-
 “ ately, without any Delay, expedite the
 “ coming of that our Consort; so that we
 “ should see plainly how ready you were to
 “ oblige us.

“ AND

“ AND whereas we desire that you and
“ our said Father-in-law should be assured
“ of our Intention, with Regard to what
“ hath been said in her Respect ; certainly
“ in whatever Condition she shall be sent to
“ us, we out of Respect to you and to the
“ House from whence she springs, and also
“ for the singular Love we bear to her,
“ shall regard and receive her as our loving
“ Spouse and loyal Consort, without having
“ any Regard to such Appendages, as are
“ neither necessary nor of any Use to the
“ principal Matters you and we have to
“ manage and treat of together.

“ AND as concerning the Desire which
“ you, my dearest Uncle, have of sending
“ your Embassadors to us at such Time and
“ Season as we shall think most propitious
“ and favourable for the good conducting
“ of these Matters ; and that we would,
“ with the greatest Expedition we can,
“ certify and give you Advice thereof. Most
“ high and most excellent Prince, our dear-
“ est Uncle, we reposing a singular Confi-
“ dence in our said Cousin the Marquis of
“ *Suffolk,*

The HISTORY of

" *Suffolk*, do now send him to you, as well
 " to receive and conduct to us your said
 " Niece, our Consort, as to confer with
 " you and treat with you of all the Mat-
 " ters before-mentioned ; with Regard to
 " which we have fully instructed him of
 " our Will and Intentions. So we pray
 " you, most High, most Excellent and
 " Mighty Prince, our dearest Uncle, that
 " in all things which our said Cousin shall
 " lay before you in our Behalf, on what
 " Subject soever it be, you would be pleased
 " to give him full Credit, as you would to
 " our Self, if we were present with you ;
 " letting us know your good Will* and
 " Condition for our great Good and Com-
 " fort. Most High, most Excellent Prince,
 " our dearest Uncle, we pray the Blessed
 " Son of God to have you in his holy
 " keeping. *Written from Donnyton the*
 " *eighteenth Day of November 1444.*

HENRY.

KING

KING *Charles*, the Queen his Wife, the Princess of *Scotland*, Wife to the *Dauphine*, (who was afterwards King of *France*, by the Name of *Louis XI.*) went with all the Court to *Nancy*. This was the King of *Sicily's* usual Place of Residence, and there it was that the Treaty for the Royal Marriage, which had been begun at *Tours*, was to be concluded. The King of *France*, to shew his Desire of an Alliance, from which he promised himself great Advantages, took Care to honour it with his Presence, and to bear a Part in the pompous Entertainments which *René* made for eight Days together on this Occasion. Nothing could be more splendid and magnificent than the Attire and Equipage of the honourable Company there assembled. Justs and Tournament were a considerable Part of such Entertainments in those Days; and *René* himself, (who was reputed the best Juster of the Age) the King of *France*, *Charles* of *Anjou*, Brother to *René*, the Counts of *Foix* and *St. Pol*, *Ferry* of *Lorraine*, and other

C great

great Noblemen, distinguished themselves in those manly Exercises or Diversions.

*Death of
the Dau-
phinefs of
France.*

BUT the Poms of this World have often melancholy Consequences, and the greatest Joys terminate in the greatest Troubles. As the Court was returning from the Conclusion of this illustrious Marriage, *Margaret Steward*, Dauphinefs of *France*, died at *Châlons in Champagne*, lamented by the King, and regretted by the whole Court, for her rare Perfections. Nature had adorned her with an uncommon Beauty of Body, (says *Monstrelet*) and her own Application and Reflections had acquired her several fine Accomplishments of the Mind. She was a great Favourer of the worthy Men of her Age, and failed not to express, by her Benefactions, as well as by her Graces, the Esteem she had of their Virtue. *Allan Chartier* was then at the Court of King *Charles VII.* Father-in-law to this Princess, and had the Reputation of an excellent Writer. The Dauphinefs passing one Day with her Ladies through a Chamber, where he was sleeping upon a Bench, went up to him and

kissed

kissed him. *Allan* had a very forbidding Face, and a disagreeable Figure; and the Gentleman who had the Honour of leading the Dauphiness by the Hand at the time she did this Action, envying the Honour done to a Person, who had nothing but a Genius, fine Parts, and Virtue to distinguish him, asked her, "How she could find in her Heart to kiss so ugly a Fellow?" She turning to the Ladies who attended her, and had seen what she had done, readily replied, "I did not kiss the Person, I only paid my Regards to Merit, and touched the Mouth from which so many fine Discourses and beautiful Exhortations to Virtue have flowed.

IN the mean time *Margaret* Queen of *England* passed the Sea, and was received by the King her Husband in a Manner suitable to the Quality of her Birth, to the Dignity of her Marriage, and to the Merit of her Virtues.

SHE had a favourable Passage from *Dieppe* to *Portchester*, from whence she went by Water to *Southampton*, and from thence to

The HISTORY of

Southwick. On *April* twenty two she was married to the King in the Monastery of *Tichfield*, and was thence honourably conveyed to *London*, being met on the Road by the principal Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, with splendid Equipages.

THE Duke of *Gloucester* had been very averse to the Marriage, and had opposed it in Council, with Reasons drawn as well from Conscience as Policy : For *Henry* was then contracted to the Count of *Armagnac's* Daughter, to whom he had been affianced three Years before, though by Reason of the Troubles which the Count suffered on account of that Alliance, the Solemnization of the Marriage had been deferred ; and it was to be feared that such an intollerable Affront would provoke him to take Part with the Crown of *France*, and endanger the Loss of *Guienne* ; as it proved soon after in the Event. The King was to succeed to all the Count of *Armagnac's* Territories, in Case the Contract with his Daughter had taken Effect ; besides a very considerable Fortune at present in Money.

Whereas

Whereas such was the Poverty of *René*, that he could not subsist without continual Relief from his Friends: He was stiled indeed King of *Sicily*, *Naples* and *Jerusalem*, but was not possessed of a Foot of Land in any of those Kingdoms; so that *Margaret* had no Fortune: And instead of bringing any Addition of Territories to *England*, it was stipulated by the Marriage-Articles, that *Le Mans*, the County of *Maine*, and the Duchy of *Anjou* (the best Barrier of *Normandy*, and necessary Means of Communication between that Province and *Guienne*) should be given up by *Henry* to *René* and his Brother *Charles* of *Anjou*, who were inviolably attached to the Interests of *France*. How zealous soever the Duke had been in opposing the Marriage with *Margaret*, yet when it was solemnized, he resolved to pay her all the Honours due to a Queen of *England*. He met her on the Road with five hundred Men all in one (and that a very sumptuous) Livery, and attended her to *Blackbeath*, where the Mayor, Aldermen and Companies of *London* on Horseback

were ready to receive her, and convoyed her through the City, then beautified with Pageants of various Histories, and other Shews of her Welcome. She was crown'd on *May* thirty at *Westminster*.

She endeavours to ruin the Duke of Gloucester.

Humphrey Plantagenet Duke of Gloucester was at this time sitting at the Helm of Affairs in *England*, and under the Name of *Henry*, had an absolute Authority in the Management of the Kingdom. *Margaret*, who was incensed against him for opposing her Marriage, and had a strong Inclination to govern the State and command the Will of her Husband, immediately formed the Design of ruining *Humphrey*, at least of driving him from Court, and of assuming to her self the Sovereign Authority, which he there enjoyed. To bring this about, she studied for a time the King's Temper, and found him to be one who loved Quiet and hated Business; lazy rather than laborious, and to have as much Contempt of the Dignities of the World, as he shewed Regard to the moral Qualities and Virtues of the Soul. One Day being alone with him

in

in his Closet, she spoke to him in this Manner :

“ SIR, the most general Rule in the
“ Conduct of a wise King (as you are) is
“ not to raise too high in the Government
“ of a Kingdom any Person, who may by
“ his Credit weaken the Authority of his
“ Master, and cause his Person to fall into
“ the Contempt of his People. It hath
“ always been your Majesty’s Intention to
“ keep up to this Rule; but you do not
“ take Notice how the Power you have gi-
“ ven in your Affairs to the Duke of Glou-
“ cester, hath raised him so high in the
“ Government that he looks down upon
“ both of us as his Inferiors. He grants all
“ Favours in your Name, imposeth Subsi-
“ dies and Taxes on your Kingdom, re-
“ venges his own private Injuries, under
“ Pretext of Treason against your Majesty;
“ persecutes your Servants and advances his
“ own, as well to Benefices in the King-
“ dom as to the Offices of your Household;
“ and to prevent the Truth of his Conduct
“ from coming to your Ears, he besieges

*Her Speech
to the King
on that
Occasion.*

“ you continually with a Parcel of Men,
 “ whom he has bought and made his Crea-
 “ tures, who disguise all his Actions to you,
 “ and are continually bragging of his Con-
 “ duct. The Knowledge which I have
 “ gained thereof, and the Interest which I
 “ take in every thing that concerns you, are
 “ the only Motives of this Discourse ; that
 “ your Majesty being made acquainted with
 “ the Behaviour of the Duke, may suffer
 “ no longer any Slur to be thrown on your
 “ Reputation, or any Oppression to be used
 “ towards your People, who murmur at it
 “ every Day, and begin to despise you, as
 “ a Prince who poorly submits to the Do-
 “ minion of one of your Subjects.”

*The King's
 Answer.*

Henry, who lov'd the Duke of *Gloucester*,
 did not receive this Discourse of the Queen's
 after the Manner she expected. The long
 time in which the Duke had enjoyed the
 Administration of the Kingdom, had been
 the Means of the King's contracting as long
 an Habit of liking every thing he did in the
 Course of his Administration ; so that he
 at first answered her to this Effect : “ To
 “ deprive

“ deprive Kings of having their favourite
“ Ministers, is to deprive them of those
“ Assistances which are necessary to enable
“ them to bear the Weight of Government.
“ It is likewise to strip them of the most
“ innocent Affections that a Man can en-
“ tertain ; I mean the loving of a Person,
“ the speaking to him with Confidence, and
“ the making of him, as it were, another
“ Self. To raise up a Man is a Pleasure
“ that charms the Soul, and advances it, in
“ a Manner, to the Dignity of a Creator :
“ It is the Work of the wisest, and the
“ Glory of the greatest King. The Things
“ which are in us are seldom seen by us in
“ a direct View, but rather by Reflection
“ from others. Beauty it self cannot be
“ known by the Person it adorns, without
“ the Help of a Mirrour : The Mirrour of
“ one's own Greatness is the Person whom
“ we have aggrandized. It is with Plea-
“ sure that we see him great, and we would
“ fain see him greater, not so much out of
“ Regard to his own Person, as because we
“ consider him as a Part of our selves. But

“ as

“ as upon the Earth the brightest Rays of
 “ the Sun make a Shade when they strike
 “ upon Bodies that are not bright enough
 “ fully to receive their Light ; so our Fa-
 “ vours and Graces give Occasion to the
 “ Envy and Jealousy of such great Persons
 “ about Court, as we have not deemed
 “ worthy of being honoured with the like.
 “ We must not believe, Madam, what is
 “ said of the Duke of *Gloucester* : his Ser-
 “ vices are a full Refutation of the Calum-
 “ nies thrown upon his Character and Con-
 “ duct.”

*The
 Queen's
 Reply.*

THE Queen, who wanted to destroy the
 Duke at any Rate, was not satisfied with this
 Answer ; but replied in such Terms as these:
 “ Sir, Greatness doth not belong meerly to
 “ the Person who has raised another, if
 “ he was not the only one concerned in
 “ raising him. This is more especially so,
 “ when he, who is aggrandized, hath con-
 “ tributed by his Actions to his own Eleva-
 “ tion. All Favourites are apt to think it
 “ their own Work, and that they have
 “ merited all the Power and Dignities which
 “ they

“ they enjoy. This is particularly the Case
“ of the Duke of *Gloucester*, who being
“ already great by his Birth, thinks him-
“ self intitled to be much greater by your
“ Favour, and that what he already holds
“ of you is still below what he deserves.
“ Hence it often comes, that when we
“ think we have raised up a Greatness less
“ than our own, we find in reality that we
“ have raised up one that is greater. The
“ Duke of *Gloucester* is not an Assistant to
“ the King ; he is King in Effect, in the
“ Authority which he has assumed, and in
“ the Manner wherein he has exercised that
“ Authority. Your People say, that, ha-
“ ving given up into another’s Hands the
“ Reins which God had put into your
“ own, to govern your own Kingdom your
“ self, you have taken Care to punish your
“ self for that Failure, by divesting your
“ self, in the Eyes of all the World, of
“ the Dignity with which Heaven had in-
“ vested you ; thereby making, as it were,
“ a publick Confession of your own Insuf-
“ ficiency to support it as you ought.

Henry

*Duke of
Gloucester's
Fall and
Death.*

Henry, who was of a flexible Nature, suffered himself to be persuaded by his Wife's Reasons, and she took upon her the Administration of Affairs ; so that in less than a Year the Duke of *Gloucester* was destitute both of Employment and Credit ; and even abandoned to the Persecution of his Enemies, who charged him with so many Accusations and Calumnies, that before he had Time or Liberty to justify himself from them, the King having summoned him to a Parliament held in the Monastery of *St. Edmond* at *Bury*, gave Orders for his being arrested by the Viscount *Beaumont*, Lord Constable of *England*. In a Day or two afterwards the Duke was strangled in Prison by Night, without any Form of Justice, after having been employed in the Administration of the Kingdom for the Space of twenty five Years. His Corps was carried to the Abbey of *St. Albans*, where it received the Honours of a Funeral. Thus ended the Life, the Favour, and the Administration of *Humphrey* of *Lancaster*, a Prince of the Blood Royal of *England*, without

without being convicted of any other Crime but that of enjoying the highest Favour at Court, and of having in his Hands the Conduct of all the Affairs of State. It is certain that the chief Ministers of Princes are always Objects of the Envy of a Court, and very often of the Hatred of the People. When they are good they are Martyrs of the State, and holy Victims for the Publick Good: when they are bad they are treated as they deserve.

THE *English* have remarked and entertained a Notion, that the Name and Dignity of *Gloucester* has been always fatal to those who have enjoyed that Title. They Instance in *Hugh Spencer* or *Le Despenfer* Earl of *Gloucester*, *Thomas of Woodstock*, Son to King *Edward III.* who was Duke of the same Place; both of which lost their Lives by the Hands of an Executioner; and even King *Richard III.* (who was Duke of *Gloucester* and Brother to *Edward IV.*) whom we shall have frequent Occasion to mention hereafter, perished in the Fury of the Civil Wars, shedding his Blood and losing

*Title of
Gloucester
unhappy.*

sing his Life in the Field of Battle; as if Fortune took a Pleasure in raising to that Dignity such as she had a Mind to destroy.

It is the Business of Historians to search deeper into the Reasons and Motives of the Duke of Gloucester's Ruin, (which must not be ascribed entirely to the Discourse which Queen Margaret held with her Husband King Henry) and to enquire whether she was induced thereto by her own Resentment on the Occasion above-mentioned, or by the envious Councils of some of the Grandees of the Court, who are often Enemies to the Minister that governs: or in fine, whether it proceeded from that Queen's own Motion and violent Inclination to rule and govern; for she was of a domineering Humour; and her Wit had as much Power over the Reason of Men, as her Face had over their Affections.

*The Duke
of Suffolk
impeached.*

THE Marquis (now made Duke) of Suffolk was by the People of London and the great Men of the Kingdom generally considered as the Person, who, by wicked Arts and vile Practices, had procured the Death

as if of the innocent Duke of *Gloucester*, who had been universally beloved for his Goodness, and esteemed for his Sincerity and Justice. For this Reason, as well as for the delivering up of *Le Mans*, and the County of *Maine* to the *French* (which was likewise imputed to him) *Suffolk* was become odious to all the Nation. He was impeached of these Crimes by a Parliament that met at *Westminster* in *A. D.* 1449, and being arrested by the King's Order, was sent Prisoner to the *Tower*.

Polydore Virgil says the King did this by his Wife's Advice, in Hopes that the Duke's Confinement might stop the Prosecution of the Commons, and appease the Clamours of the People. But *Suffolk*, after being kept there at his Pleasure for about a Month, was set at Liberty, and restored to the King's Favour, which increased the Discontents, and enflamed the Rage of the People. Possessed with a full Belief of the Duke's Guilt, they made Insurrections in several Places, crying out for Justice against the Criminal. *Adam Molins*, Bishop of *Chichester* and Keeper of

of the Privy Seal, (having been concerned in the Treaty of *Tours* for the giving up of *Anjou* and *Maine*) was murdered in one of these tumultuous Risings. The Duke himself was impeached soon after in the next Parliament which met at *Leicester*, and the King was forced to banish him for five Years.

*And put
to Death.*

THIS did not save his Life, as it was intended; for *Suffolk* embarking on *May* the third, 1450 at *Ipswich*, in order to sail for *France*, was taken in his Passage by a Ship of War called the *St. Nicholas of the Tower*, the Captain whereof causing him to be beheaded, cast his Head and Body on the Sands of *Dover*, from whence they were conveyed to the City of *London*, and there exposed to pacify the Rage of the People by so miserable a Spectacle. This however was not sufficient to remove the Discontents of the People, who still demanded Justice upon others, whom the King was forced to turn out of their Employments and promise to imprison. Thus did popular Clamour procure Revenge upon the Guilty, as

well

well for the general Injury done to the State,
as that more private Justice offered to the
Person of the Duke of *Gloucester*: For as
Storms usually fall back upon the Places
from which they originally rise, so evil Coun-
cils generally overwhelm the Authors there-
of in the Ruin which they procure to o-
thers.

THESE Disorders proceeded in a great Measure from the Violence used in removing the Duke of *Gloucester* from the Management of Affairs, and from putting the Administration into the Hands of Queen *Margaret*. She shewed however a great deal of Firmness in the Midst of those Storms and Tempests, which rose up and endangered the State, whilst she sat at the Helm of Affairs; but yet thought proper to call in to her Assistance *Edmund* Duke of *Somerfet*, whom she made principal Minister of State. When this Nobleman was raised to that Height, and the Kingdom was put under his Management, some Princes of the Blood took thence Occasion to complain of his Power, and made use of it

The Duke of Somerfet made chief Minister by the Queen.

as a Pretext to cover their Ambition, and the Design they had formed of taking the Crown from King *Henry* to put it upon their own Heads ; but for the better understanding the Success and Consequences of these Disorders, it will be necessary to look back into History, and to learn the first Causes and Original thereof.

*Original
of the Dis-
pute be-
tween the
Houses of
York and
Lancaster.*

IN the Reign of *Richard II.* *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster* (a Prince of the Blood Royal, who was afterwards King by the Name of *Henry IV.*) had a great Hand in the Management of Affairs, and was very popular in the Kingdom : His Employments and Credit increased his Ambition ; and this Passion made him take up Arms against the King, his lawful Sovereign. The Discontents of the People caused a general Defection in his Favour : He took the King Prisoner, forced him to resign the Crown, and, that he might have no Competitor in the Throne, he got him murdered in Prison. The Death of his rightful Prince did not assure his Mind : he reigned in Fear, and in those Suspensions which disquiet Usurpers.

The

The House of *York*, being an elder Branch of the Royal Family, formed a Party to attack him, and put themselves in a good Condition to assert their Rights: And as the *Lancaster* Family had taken a *Red Rose* for their Device of War, so that of *York* assumed a *White* one for theirs. *Henry IV.* was succeeded by his Son *Henry V.*; and after him by his Grandson *Henry VI.* upon whom fell the Vengeance due to that violent Usurpation: For God punishes the Iniquity of the Fathers upon their Children, who support and continue their Usurpation.

Richard Duke of York could not drop the Pretensions of his Family, nor bear to see upon the Throne of *England* a Person whose Ancestors had invaded it in Prejudice to his. He took Measures to recover it, put himself in Arms, and covered his Insurrection with the common Pretence of the Publick Good; as if it was intended only to reform the State and deliver the *English* from the Insolence (as he termed it) of the Minister, who was then the Duke of *Somerſet*. Favourites are always hated, either because they are en-

Richard Duke of York aspires to the Crown.

vied, or because they really oppress the People ; with whose Blood they sometimes cement their own Grandeur, and build their private Fortune upon the Ruin of the Nation. Some great Men of the Court, and the principal Gentry of the Kingdom, were of the Duke of *York's* Party.

Insurrection in Kent.

THE Commonalty of the County of *Kent* espoused the Cause of the *White Rose* ; and a great Multitude of them rising in Arms, chose for their Captain one *John Cade*, calling him *Mortimer*, and Cousin to the Duke of *York*, whose Title to the Crown was derived from his Mother *Anne*, Sister of *Edmond*, and Daughter of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *Marche*, who was Son of *Philippa* the only Daughter and Heir of *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, second Son of King *Edward III.* *Cade* took the Field at the Head of this Body of *Kentishmen*, who marched directly towards *London*, and encamped at a small Distance from the City.

FROM thence they sent to the King a Petition representing that their Insurrection was only intended for the Maintenance of

the

the Publick Liberty and Property, against the Violence of some of his Council, who devoured the Substance of the People by unjust Subsidies and cruel Exactions; that if he would be pleased to punish those evil Counsellors as they deserved, and call to Court the Princes of the Royal Blood, and the chief Nobility, who had been driven thence by the Duke of *Suffolk*, they would lay down their Arms, would return to their Houses, applaud his Justice, and pray for a Blessing on his Reign. The Counsellors about the King, who were struck at in this Petition, as Men of mean Birth, and the Authors of all the Grievances of the Subjects, advised his Majesty to suppress the Rebels by plain Force, rather than by fair Promises, urging that when Subjects have the Insolence to demand Justice of their Sovereign Sword in Hand, they are resolved to carve it out for themselves, and take from him the Authority of administering it. The King hereupon sent a Body of Troops against them, under the Command of Sir *Humphrey Stafford*, either to force

the Rebels to retire and disperse, or else to cut them in Pieces. *Cade*, upon the Advance of these Troops retired to *Sevenoke*, where they came up with him, and after a long and sharp Engagement were defeated, and *Stafford* himself slain, with a great Number of his Followers.

Cade, after his Victory, advanced with his Men to *Blackbeath*, and the King, who had lain all this while at *Greenwich*, finding his own Troops unwilling to fight against the *Kentishmen*, and the Citizens of *London* secretly favouring their Cause, thought fit to retire with his Queen to *Kenelworth Castle*, in the Heart of the Kingdom, leaving his capital City without any Defence, and the *Tower* under the Command of Lord *Scales*, who had for his Lieutenant a gallant old Officer called *Matagon* or *Matthew Gough*. *Cade*, who had lain with his Forces at *Blackbeath*, from *June* the twenty ninth to *July* the first, upon News of the King's Retreat, marched into *Southwark*: and the People of *Essex* at the same time advanced

in

in great Numbers on their Side towards *London*, and encamped at *Mile-End*.

THE next Day *Thomas Charlton*, the Mayor, called a Common Council to consider of Measures for opposing the Rebels ; but as there was a confiderable Party for receiving them, Opinions were found so much divided, that no Resolution was taken nor Preparations made for opposing them. *Cade* therefore in the Afternoon, marching at the Head of his Forces, cut the Ropes of the Draw-Bridge with his Sword, and entered the City. At first he caused Proclamation to be made in sundry Places, that none should rob or take any thing from the Citizens, without paying for it ; but soon after he cut off the Head of the Lord *Say*, Treasurer of the Realm, and his Men fell to pillaging the Houses of the richest Inhabitants.

THESE Violences they endeavoured to excuse under Pretence of revenging the Injuries which they had received from such as they plundered and massacred. The Citizens of *London* in the Beginning connived

at these Disorders, and had perhaps taken some Pleasure in seeing them committed, out of a Notion that they might prove a Means to lessen the exorbitant Authority of the Duke of *Somerset*, and that King *Henry* would be thereby obliged to put an End to the Exactions upon the People: But when they found that the Remedy was growing worse than the Disease, and that the Violence of these Mutineers fell upon the Innocent as well as the Guilty, they took up Arms by the Advice of their Mayor and of the Sheriffs *William Hulin* and *Thomas Canynges*, under the Conduct of Captain *Mathagon* above-mentioned, a Man of great Valour, who had served the Crown of *England* twenty five Years in their Wars with *France*.

THIS Commander led them on *July* the fifth in the Night over the Bridge to charge the Enemy in *Southwark*. Fortune seem'd to favour him in the Beginning of his Enterprize: he made himself Master of the Bridge, putting the Guard to the Sword; but it was soon recovered by the Rebels,

who

who ran thither in Arms from all Quarters. *Mathagon* finding the Enemy too strong for him, endeavoured to gain time during the rest of the Night, in Hopes that when the Day broke he might receive a new Reinforcement from the City, and recover the Ground he had lost. But the Rebels set fire to the Houses which were built upon the Bridge, and mingling their own Fury with that of the Flames, forced the *Londoners*, after an obstinate Fight, (which lasted till nine in the Morning) to retire into the City, killing a great Number of them, and among the rest the gallant *Mathagon*, whose Life having been in vain attempted by the *French* during the past Wars in lawful Combats, was thus taken from him by the *English*, whom he served in an unjust and popular Insurrection.

KING *Henry* seeing his Forces too weak ^{*Quelled by*} to suppress the Insurrection, found it neces- ^{*a Procla-*} sary at last to make use of Clemency to dis- ^{*mation.*} perse the Rebels. He issued out a Proclamation, offering a general Pardon to all the People that were in Arms, if they laid them down

down immediately, *John Cade*, their General, being therein particularly included. They hereupon retired to their Houses, and *Cade* was soon after made sensible that the surest Recompence of the Ringleader of a Rebellion is the Stroke of an Executioner. For a Proclamation being issued with a Reward of 1000 Marks to whoever should take him, he fled into the *Woodlands* of *Sussex*, and being there discovered, was killed in the taking, and his Corps being carried to *London*, was dragged through the Streets to *Newgate*, and quarter'd, his Head fix'd upon *London Bridge*, and his Quarters sent to four different Towns in *Kent*.

The Duke of York consults with his Friends how to raise himself to the Throne.

THE Fire of this Rebellion was indeed abated, and kept under for a time ; but was not entirely extinguished. *Richard Duke of York*, who had kindled it, still kept alive the Sparks proper to renew it in the Pretensions which he had to the Crown of *England*, as being descended from *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, elder Brother to *John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster*, both of them Sons to *Edward III.* The Insurrection of the *Ken-*

tishmen not having proceeded so far, or been so successful as he wished, he sought for some other Means of bringing about his Design of making himself King of *England*. *Thomas Courtenay* Earl of *Devonshire*, and *Edward Brooke* Lord *Cobham*, an unquiet bustling Man, and fitted for popular Insurrections, were two of his Friends, in which he had the greatest Confidence. He consulted with these and some few others about the proper Measures to be taken for gaining his Point. He told them, " That the
 " first Stone of the Foundation of any great
 " Design, was the Touchstone (as it were)
 " of the Builder's Prudence, for by it the
 " whole Edifice was to be supported ; that
 " it was necessary to consider maturely of
 " the proper Measures for his getting the
 " Crown, in which they had all an Interest, as being his Friends ; that his Fortune would be the making of theirs, and
 " the Means of raising them to such an
 " Height that they should see nothing above
 " them, but the Throne itself. But as that
 " was the most perfect Beauty which had

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" no Defects; so the greatest Glory of he-
 " roick Souls must be that which had no
 " Spots to sully its Lustre; that in this
 " great Enterprize it behoved him to avoid
 " all Imputation of Perfidiousness to the
 " King, and the Odium of being branded
 " with the Name of Traitor to his Coun-
 " try; and that as he had always valu'd his
 " Honour above all the Empires of the
 " World, and had even preferr'd it to his own
 " Life; so he neither could nor would un-
 " dertake any thing in which he might run
 " the Risque of losing it." In the Debate
 upon this Affair, several Methods and Pre-
 texts of taking Arms were propos'd; but
 in fine, they resolv'd that the surest way
 was to begin with attacking the Ministry
 of the Duke of *Somerset*, who was already
 the Object, as well of the Hatred of the
 People, for his giving up of *Normandy* to
 the *French*, as of the Jealousy of the great
 Men of the Kingdom for his Favour at
 Court, and the Sway he had in the Govern-
 ment. The first Attacks made against the
 Authority of Kings, are generally directed

at the Person, who governs under them, and is nearest to them in Power and Dignity.

THIS Resolution being taken, the Duke of York took the Field in the Year 1454, and published at the same time a Manifesto, declaring that he had no End in doing so, but to ease the People, who were miserably oppressed and overwhelmed with excessive Taxes imposed upon them by the evil Counsels given the King, and to punish the Authors of those Counsels and Oppressions. This Declaration caused a great Part of *England* to rise in his Favour; and the Pretence of the Publick Good drew to his Party all that did not penetrate further into his Design. The Number of these was so great, that he soon saw himself at the Head of a powerful Army, sufficient to encourage him to try the Fortune of a Battle, with a reasonable Assurance of Success. He marched towards *London*, and encamping within ten Miles of the City, sent his Spies to observe the King's Situation, and what Preparations had been made to oppose his Designs.

*He raises
an Army
and advances to-
wards
London.*

Henry

Henry on his Side had, upon the first News of the Insurrection, assembled his Council, and by their Advice had levied a numerous Body of Troops in order to repel Force by Force. He advanced towards the Enemy, and encamped his Army over-against theirs: But whether this Prince had not in him enough of the Warriour, or doubted the Success of a Battel, he did not care to charge the Duke of *York*, but sent Embassadors to him to learn the Cause of his rising in Arms; thus condescending to treat on the *par* with a Man, whom the Quality of Prince of the Blood Royal did not exempt from being his Subject. *Richard* told the King's Embassadors, that the Reasons why he had taken Arms could not be unknown, because he had published them all over the Nation, that he had no Design in it but to relieve the Kingdom from the Violences, Exactions and Oppressions which it suffered from the Duke of *Somerſet*; and as an undoubted Proof of this being his real Design, he would lay down his Arms and come alone to the King, and

serve

first serve him in his own Person, if he would first be pleased to put the Duke of *Somerſet* under an Arrest, and secure him in hold so that he might be forth-coming to answer such just Accusations as were ready to be brought against that Minister. The Motives which induced him to make this Offer rather than to fight, were, that he thought himself too weak to give Battel, and feared the Issue of an Engagement.

THE King who did not care for War, *Dismisses his Troops upon an Accord with the King.* not even when it was absolutely necessary, granted his Demand; but instead of sending his Minister to Prison, only ordered him to keep himself concealed in his Tent. The Duke of *York*, supposing *Somerſet* to be arrested, dismissed his Troops, came unattended to wait upon the King, in the Midst of his Camp near *Dartford*, and after paying his Obedience to him, began to complain of the Duke of *Somerſet*, representing, with a great deal of Earnestness, the insatiable Ambition and intolerable Avarice of that Minister. *Somerſet*, from the Place where he lay, heard these Complaints, and not

not able to bear them longer, appeared on a sudden upon the Stage, defended himself, and answered his Accuser with as much Warmth as he had been charg'd by the other. Not content with his own Defence, he went on to inveigh against the Duke of *York*, arraigning him of Treason and Perfidiousness, and shewing that his real Design in that Insurrection was to make himself Master of the Kingdom, and take away the Crown from his Majesty. This made immediately such an Impression upon the King, that he returned to *London*, carrying the Duke of *York* with him as a Prisoner. But God who had ordained otherwise of all their Designs, will make his own take Place in Spight of their Wills. The King, the Duke of *York*, and the Favourite shall all lose their Lives by various Means and at different times. This we shall see in its Place, and may learn from thence that Fortune triumphs with greater Pomp in the Calamities of Crowns than in the Miseries of private Persons.

THE King upon his return to *Westminster* Accused by
Somerſet. ſummoned the Lords of his Council to meet
to take Cogniſance of the Accuſations
brought againſt the Duke of York. *Somer-*
ſet appeared there in Quality both of a
Judge and Accuſer, uſed ſtrong Inſtances
with the Board, that *Richard* might be put
to the Queſtion, and be upon the Rack in-
terrogated about ſeveral Articles of his Im-
peachment, and upon his Confeſſion there-
of be condemned to Death, his Eſtate for-
feited to the King, and his Children de-
clared publick Enemies to their Country.
But Providence reſerved them for the Throne,
and exempted them from ſuch an Infamy.
Somerſet, in preſſing this Motion, called
God to Witneſs the Truth of a Charge, for
which he had no Evidence, other than his
own ſtrong Affeſſeration, that the Duke was
guilty, and had conſpired againſt the King's
Life as well as his own.

How true ſoever this might be, yet in a But ac-
quitted and
ſet at Li-
berty. ſtate, where the Monarchy is limited, and
the King's abſolute Power is moderated by
thoſe of a Parliament, a Miniſter cannot

THE E do

do every thing that he pleases. The Frankness which the Duke of York had shewn in dismissing his Army, and coming to the King in the Midst of his Camp, his Fidelity and Services both in *France* and *Ireland*, where he had all the Power in his Hands, persuaded his Judges that he had none of those Designs which were imputed to him by the Favourite; he was acquitted of the Charge and set at Liberty. Two Things contributed to this Event, the one was the News brought to Court that *Edward* Earl of *Marche* (the Duke of York's eldest Son) was on the March to *London* with a powerful Army to deliver his Father: the other was the Arrival of some Deputies from *Bordeaux* to invite the *English* to take Possession of that Place, assuring them of the Revolt of the Citizens, if King *Henry* would send an Army thither to their Assistance.

Richard being thus delivered from a short Confinement, departed from Court, after having sworn to the King, that he would never take up Arms against his Service: but he still retained a sharp Resentment of his

Usage, and an eager Desire of revenging the Affront he had received upon the first Occasion that offered. The Duke of *Somerſet*, who, whatever way the Affair turned, ſtill found his Accompt in removing his Enemy from Court, triumphed in his Vexation, laughed at his Reſentment, and continued to enjoy the Adminiſtration of all Affairs without any Controul or Obſtacle. His Proſperity was ſtill augmented by a new Fecundity which happened to the Court, and which ſeemed to promiſe a ſure Eſtabliſhment to his Fortune. Queen *Margaret* was on *October* the thirteenth 1453, brought to Bed of a Son, who was named *Edward*, and ſtiled Prince of *Wales*: But this Royal Infant came into the World to bear a Part in the Miſeries of his Family, and to enhance thoſe of his Mother who ſurvived him.

In the mean time the Duke of *York*, who He forms a Party. in his Retirement meditated nothing but Revenge againſt the King and his Miniſter, diſcovered his Reſentment openly, complained to all the World of *Somerſet*, as a

merciless Oppressor of the People, a Devourer of their Substance, a Tyrant in his Administration, and the Source of all the Miseries of the Nation. He drew over an infinite Number of Persons, and some of the most considerable, to his Party : among which were the two *Richards de Nevil*, Father and Son, descended of the noble Family of *Westmoreland*. The Father was Earl of *Salisbury* on Account of his Wife *Alice*, only Daughter to *Thomas Montacute*, the famous Earl of that Place, who was killed in the Wars of *France* at the Siege of *Orleans*. The Son was Earl of *Warwick*, having married *Anne* Sister and Heir to *Henry Beauchamp* Duke of *Warwick*, who had died a little before without Issue.

*Raises
fresh Forces
and routs
the King's
Army at
St. Albans.*

THE Duke of *York* encouraged by the Advice, and strengthened by the Assistance of these two Noblemen, the most powerful and popular of any in the Kingdom, levies Forces, advanceth straight towards *London*, and fills the Place with such a general Consternation and Terror, that the King was obliged to quit it, not thinking

him-

himself safe in the capital City of his Kingdom, where the People were inconstant, and the Faction of the Duke of *York* very powerful. When the Duke received Advice of the King's leaving *London*, he turned back with his Army towards *St. Albans*, intending to invest the Place. His Majesty advancing to raise the Siege, the Duke waited his coming up and gave him Battle. The two Armies fought with great Valour, from the Morning till the Afternoon; when the Earl of *Warwick* having fallen on Lord *Clifford's* Quarter, driving all before him, Victory declared itself in the Duke's Favour; the King's Forces were routed, and the greatest Part of them slain on the Spot. Among these were *Henry II.* of the Name Earl of *Norumberland*, *John Lord Clifford*, and a great many Officers, with the Duke of *Somerset*, the chief Minister of State, and the only Pretext of the War, who died Sword in Hand fighting for his King and Country; a glorious End for a Favourite!

THE Duke seeing that his Victory had deprived him of his Pretence for the War, His Submission and Speech to the King, could

could not continue it any longer, without incurring the Censure of designing to ruin the Kingdom, and acquiring the Name of a Traitor to his Country, which he protested was more odious to him than Death itself. To give no Colour for such an Imputation, he took the Party of going to the King, in the Midst of his routed Army, and laying at his Feet the Trophies which he had gain'd over his Majesty himself. On this Occasion he address'd his Majesty in the following Terms, with great Demonstrations of Zeal for his Service.

“ SIR, (said he) Kings never fight with
 “ so much Honour and Justice on their
 “ Side, as when they do it for the Defence
 “ of their Kingdoms, and the Relief of
 “ their People: And God never shews his
 “ Favour to their Arms in a more remarkable
 “ Manner than when they are employ-
 “ ed upon such just Occasions. He has
 “ given his Blessing to yours, which I lately
 “ commanded, and which have succeed-
 “ ed in demolishing the most insolent Ty-
 “ ranny that ever under the Name of

“ Court

" Court Favour approached the Throne of a
" Sovereign. Now, Sir, the Death of the
" Duke of *Somerset* is the Life of your Peo-
" ple, the Safety of your Kingdom, and
" the Enfranchisement of your Scepter.
" All the worthy Persons, whom that Mon-
" ster of Ambition and Avarice had driven
" away from your Court, will now return
" to make you an Offer of their Lives and
" Fortunes for your Service, and to con-
" gratulate you, with me, on so signal a
" Victory, which you owe to the Divine
" Providence, that gave it you, even in
" Contradiction to your own Will and In-
" clinations. Let us then go straight to
" *London*, and return Thanks to God for
" the same, that your Subjects may have
" the Satisfaction of seeing you the most
" triumphant of Kings, in having, by
" your own Forces, restored them to a Fe-
" licity, of which they had been deprived
" by the Duke of *Somerset*."

THIS said, he led the King to *London* in a triumphant Manner, in the Midst of both Armies, one of which having been beaten, *He is made Protector of the Kingdom.*

He is made
Protector
of the
Kingdom.

now seemed to be victorious by the wonderful Submission of this zealous Reformer of the State. But he left *Henry* only the bare Name of King, and assumed all the Royal Authority to himself. He disposed of all the great Posts in the Realm, and was in Parliament declar'd *Protector* of the Kingdom: The Earl of *Salisbury* was made Lord Chancellor, and the Government of *Calais* was given to his Son the Earl of *Warwick*: The other Offices about Court, as well as the Command of Towns in the Country, were divided among his Creatures and those of his Party. This way of proceeding opened the Eyes of the great Men about Court. *Henry*, the new Duke of *Somerfet*, Son to the last which was killed in the Battel of *St. Albans*, and *Humphrey Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, took Notice of it to Queen *Margaret*, who advertising the King thereof, pressed him to retrench the Duke of *York*'s Authority, which paved him a way to the Throne, and enabled him to make good his antient Pretensions to the Crown; for this undoubtedly was his

Aim,

Aim, since his Creatures, whom he had put into the most important Charges in the Kingdom, gave out publicly that he was the true Heir of the Crown, and the King was only a Tyrant, the Son of an Usurper.

THE King hereupon assembled his Council, where it was resolved to strip the Duke of *York* of that absolute Authority which he enjoyed in the Administration of Affairs, to allow him to dispose of no Office about Court without the King's Consent and the Advice of his Council; and in fine to discharge him of the Protectorship. The Duke having Notice of this Resolution, secretly left the Court, and retired to *York*; those of his Party following his Example. The Queen being apprehensive that they would raise new Disturbances, and that the King's Crown could never be secure, till they were crushed, contrived a Way for their Destruction. As *London* was not a proper Scene for an Attempt of that Nature, by Reason of the Strength of their Party in that City, she engaged the King to make a Progress to *Coventry*. From thence he sent Letters

But soon deprived of that Authority, and Measures taken to destroy him.

under

under his Privy Seal, requiring the Attendance of those Lords, who readily came: but being advertised, by secret Friends, of what was intended against them, they suddenly left the Court without taking Leave, and so escaped the Danger. The Duke of York retired to *Wigmore* in the Marches of *Wales*, and the Earl of *Salisbury* to his Castle of *Middleham* in *Yorkshire*, as the Earl of *Warwick* did to *Calais*; where they severally levied Forces and made Preparations to revenge the Injury, which they imagined they had received, and the Mischief that was intended against them.

The Scots
and
French
invade
the King-
dom.

THUS was *England* ready to embark in new Troubles, and to make herself the Instrument of her own Ruin, opening a way for Strangers to invade her Dominions, and lay them waste, with all the Desolations that attend a bloody War: For *James II.* of the Name, King of *Scotland*, enter'd *Northumberland* with an Army, and ravag'd all the Country, till the Duke of York drawing Forces together against him, he upon Advice of their March, retired in haste to his own Country.

The

The *French* too passed over from the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Bretagne* into *England*, seized several Places on the Coast, particularly *Sandwich*, plundered the Country thereabouts, and put all to the Sword who opposed their Descent and Ravages.

It often happens that one Evil cures another : In like Manner this foreign Invasion put an End to the Civil War, which was breaking out in *England*, and reconciled the Minds of the divided Parties. *Henry* was a Prince of a very mild Temper, and took Occasion from those Invasions to cause Remonstrances to be made to the Duke of *York*, “ That the *French* and *Scots* made
 “ an Advantage of their intestine Troubles,
 “ and as the Divisions of the Kingdom had
 “ encouraged them to take Arms and in-
 “ vade it, so if those Divisions continued
 “ and increased they would, in all Proba-
 “ bility, make themselves at last Masters of
 “ it ; that himself had an Interest in its
 “ Preservation, as being a Branch of the
 “ Royal Family ; that he conjured him
 “ earnestly to employ the Forces he had

*A new
 Accord,
 between
 the King
 and the
 Duke of
 York.*

“ raised

" raised against the antient Enemies of the
 " Crown; and in so doing he would act
 " like a Prince that lov'd his Country; that
 " nothing was more natural than to quit
 " domestick Jars, in order to defend them-
 " selves against the common Enemy; that
 " for his Part, he very willingly forgot all
 " that was pass'd, and hoped his own Con-
 " duct would be excus'd, if every thing
 " that had been formerly done, had not
 " been conducted (as he desired) with all
 " the Equity that was requisite; it being
 " impossible for a King, in the Govern-
 " ment of a large Kingdom, to keep so
 " exactly to all the Rules of Equity and
 " Justice."

THE Duke of York, who did not care
 to bring upon himself a publick Odium,
 and the infamous Name of the Destroyer
 of his Country, readily agreed to the King's
 Proposal. He expected to be one Day Ma-
 ster of the whole Kingdom; and therefore
 would not suffer it to be dismember'd by
 Strangers. He wrote to the King, that all
 his Views tended to the Quiet of the King-
 dom

dom and the Grandeur of his Majesty: And to give him certain Proofs thereof, he would come to wait upon him at *London*, and bring his Friends along with him to do him Service. He came thither accompanied by the Earl of *Salisbury* and several others. The Earl of *Warwick* also arrived there from *Calais*; and they all assisted together at the Councils of State which were held for the Security of the Kingdom, professing their Abhorrence of Discord, and swearing to be eternally united for the Defence of *England*. But the Union of the Minds of Courtiers is as frail as the Object of their Wishes is various and changeable.

THE Duke of *York* and the Earl of *Salisbury* had scarce begun to enjoy a little Leisure at their own Homes, when a new Accident called them from thence, and caused them to have recourse again to Arms. The Earl of *Warwick* coming from the Council, and passing through *Westminster*, not far from the Royal Palace, was suddenly attacked by the King's Guards, who fell upon him in order to kill him: His Danger

Attempt upon the Earl of Warwick's Life.

was very great, and it was with Difficulty that he saved his Life, by making an Escape to his Barge, which waited for him and carried him to the City, many of his Servants being wounded in the Fray. Historians do not inform us certainly, whether this was a formed Design for making away that Great Man, or whether it was an accidental Attempt. However it was, the Queen's Council, either to carry on their Design, or to prevent the Effects of the Earl's Resentment, would have had him arrested and committed to the Tower.

His Government of Calais given to the Duke of Somerset.

THE Execution of this Design was prevented by the Earl's retiring to *Warwick*, from whence he repaired to his Father and the Duke of *York*, laying before them the Reasons why he conceived their Enemies had Designs against their Lives. The Earl's Enemies miscarrying in their first Design against him, resolved however to take from him the Government of *Calais*, which had been conferred upon him by Parliament. He was discharged of it by a Privy Seal, and the Duke of *Somerset* appointed Governor

governor in his stead : but the Earl refused to obey, alledging that no Privy Seal could vacate an Office granted by Parliament.

THIS Series of Attempts against the Earl of *Warwick*, made the Duke of *York* and his Friends resolve to provide for their Defence ; being persuaded, or at least giving out that Queen *Margaret* had given Orders for the Earl's Assassination ; that she was an Enemy to the great Men of the Kingdom, and designed to ruin their Families, as being the Pillars of the publick Liberty and Constitution. The Earl of *Warwick* after this Interview and Resolution departed for *Calais*, to prevent any Attempts to surprize and dispossess him of a Place of so great Importance. He still enjoyed the Post of Lord High Admiral of *England*, and had Reason to apprehend that his Enemies, after being defeated in their other Projects against him, would procure from the King a Revocation of that Office. This Dignity had been conferred upon him by the King, without the Intervention of Parliament, so that he had no Pretence to dispute the King's

*And Post
of Lord
Admiral
taken
away.*

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*And Post
of Lord
Admiral
taken
away.*

King's

King's Mandate, in Case he should think fit to supersede his Commission, and give that Office to another.

*The Earl
takes a
rich Prize
at Sea.*

THE only Method left to secure himself in it, was to be useful in the Exercise of his Charge, and to get the Royal Navy in his Power. There were then but fourteen of his Majesty's Ships in readiness: These he ordered to put to Sea, and went himself on board. As he was scouring *the Channel* with this small Fleet, composed of little Vessels, he met with five large Carricks; and though inferior to them in Force, resolved to attack them. The Battle was fought with great Obstinacy for two Days together; but at last the Earl remained Victor, with the Loss only of fifty of his own Men, and the Slaughter of a thousand of the Enemy's. Two of the Carricks fled, and the other three were taken and carried into *Calais*, where their Cargo was found to be very rich, to the Value of above 10,000*l.* a very seasonable Supply in his present Circumstances, and of great Service for the carrying on of his future Enterprizes.

THE

THE Queen in the mean time carried the King on his Progress through the Counties of *Warwick, Stafford* and *Chester*, endeavouring every where to ingratiate her self with the Nobility and Gentry of those Provinces. She was amiable, artful and insinuating: No Body knew better how to flatter the Hopes and engage the Affections of the People. The Earl of *Warwick* was too well known and esteemed in the first of those Counties, to allow her to have so much Success there as she met with in *Cheshire*, where she found Means to gain all the Gentry over to her Interest. This she made her principal Care and Business: She kept open House among them, and caused her Son the Prince to give a Livery and Badges of white Swans, (as an Expression of their Attachment to her and her Son) to the Lord *Audley* and all the Gentlemen of that County. She sent the like Badges to many others throughout the Kingdom, intending to make a general Association in Favour of her own and the Prince's Interests; hoping by the Strength of her Party to

The Queen ingratiate her self in Cheshire, and forms an Interest for her Son.

F

bring

THE

bring about all her Designs. Some Historians say, that finding it impracticable to manage the King as she wished, for her Purpose, and that either out of his tender and pacifick Nature, or through the Weakness of his Understanding, he could not be brought to embark in all her Measures, which were still disappointed for want of his Concurrence, she form'd the Design of advancing her Son to the Throne in his stead; and that she actually engaged some of the Lords to move her Husband to resign the Crown to his Son; but the King could never be persuaded to give his Consent.

The Earl of Salisbury resolves to demand Justice for the Attempt upon his Son.

WHILST the Queen was carrying on her Schemes, the Duke of York and his Friends thought it necessary to provide in time for their own Safety, and to do something to oppose her Measures, before she had formed a Party too powerful to be resisted. In order to this end, the Earl of Salisbury determin'd to go to the King, (who was then at *Colehill* in *Warwickshire*) and complain to him of the Inveteracy of the Queen against his Son, of the intended Assassination that had

been

been attempted, even in the Verge of the Court, notwithstanding the late-sworn Amity and Agreement so solemnly made by all Parties; and in Consequence thereof to move his Majesty to dismiss from his Council, such as had an Hand in the said Attempt, or had advised the Breach of the said Agreement.

THE Cause of Complaint was very just and reasonable, very natural for a Father to make, where a Son, and such a Son, was so highly concerned, and (what was full as considerable) was very popular; for there was no Man in that Age so universally beloved and esteemed as the Earl of *Warwick*. He was the greatest Subject in *England* for Power and Estate, and deserved all the Popularity he enjoyed. He had on all Occasions given signal Proofs of his Valour, which, with his military Skill and successful Conduct, made him almost adored by the Soldiery. He was frank, open and sincere: He scorned to say a thing he did not think, and never made a Promise which he did not perform. He was a Man of the

*Character
of the
Earl of
Warwick.*

nicest Honour in his Behaviour as well as Sentiments; a Foe to Vice, a Friend to Virtue, and an Encourager of Merit wherever it appeared. He was not more tender of his own, than he was jealous of the Honour of his Country, which no Man loved better: And he had shewn so much Regard to it in all his Actions, that all the World was persuaded of his publick Spirit. He was generous in the highest Degree, and took a Delight in serving and obliging Mankind. A gallant Action could not be done in War, nor a virtuous one in Peace, but he fought out the Actor, shewed him Marks of his Esteem, and never failed to make him feel the Effects of a Liberality, by which an infinite Number of Persons were continually relieved. No Hospitality was ever known equal to his: Whether he was in *London* or in the Country, his House and Table were open to all the World. Every Soldier might come into his Kitchen, and take away whatever Meat he could carry off on the Point of his Dagger; and all the Neighbourhood, where-ever he was,

might send thither for whatever they wanted, either to their own or to publick Houses. These admirable Qualities, supported by such a Conduct and Manner of living, and joined with an excellent Understanding, rendered him the Darling of the People; so that the Earl of *Warwick's* Preservation was not so much the peculiar Concern of his Father, as it is was that in a Manner of the whole Nation.

THE Earl of *Salisbury* resolving to carry his Complaints to the King, set out from *Middleham-Castle* with a sufficient Guard for the Security of his Person, taking his Way through *Lancashire*, either in Hopes of finding the King in *Staffordshire*, or in order to have a Conference with the Duke of *York*, who was then at *Ludlow* in *Shropshire*. As he was upon the Road, he received Advice that the Queen, who was then at *Eccleshall* in *Staffordshire*, had ordered *James Touchet* Lord *Audley*, to raise all the Forces of that County, and the adjoining ones of *Salop* and *Chester*, to intercept him in his Progress. This made him halt till he had increased

The Earl of Salisbury going to the King is attacked at Blore-heath.

his Party, which, in such a Cause, he had no Difficulty of doing; so that his Party was encreased to four or five thousand Men by the time he came to *Blorebeath*, on the Borders of *Shropshire* and *Staffordshire*. When he arrived upon that Plain, about a Mile from *Draiton*, in the Evening, he found he could march no farther, Lord *Audley* opposing his Passage with a Body of ten thousand Men.

*Lord Aud-
ley routed
and slain.*

EARLY in the Morning the Earl, either not caring to fight, or to make up by some Advantage in Ground what he wanted in the Number of his Forces, made a kind of Retreat. This tempted the Lord *Audley* to order his Troops to pass a River, little in Breadth but of a considerable Depth, which lay between the two Armies. This could not be done without some Disorder, and before a new Disposition could be made, or his Men be put into good Order, the Earl of *Salisbury* fell upon them with all his Forces. The Battle was bloody; but ended at last in the Defeat of the Lord *Audley*, who was killed on the Spot. The Loss fell chiefly upon

upon the *Cheshire* Men. Most of those who had passed the Brook were cut in Pieces, and above two thousand four hundred Men were left dead in the Field. The Number of Prisoners was less than that of the slain; such as remained on the other Side of the River, made their Escape by Flight. Thus the King saw the Malecontents triumph over his Army, and Queen *Margaret* began to feel those Disasters, the Series whereof will exhibit such a Scene of extraordinary Calamities, as have never been known to fall upon any Princess that ever wore a Crown.

THE Earl of *Salisbury* after his Victory, seeing what welcome he was likely to meet with, if he drew nearer the Court, continued his March to the Duke of *York*, to consult together of their Affairs. Two of his Sons, Sir *John* and Sir *Thomas Nevil*, had been wounded in the late Battle, and were sent back to *Middleham*, but were taken in the Way by some Gentlemen of *Cheshire*. They were not long Prisoners, the Threats of the *Marchemen* and the Terror of the late Victory easily procuring their Liberty. The

*The Duke
of York
raises
Forces.*

Duke, upon Conference with the Earl, was convinced that it was no longer time to dally, and that it behoved them to provide, with all possible Expedition, for their Defence. For this Purpose they sent into the North of *England*, and into *Wales*, to raise Forces and draw them down to *Ludlow*; and dispatched Messengers to the Earl of *Warwick*, pressing him to come to their Assistance with what Forces he could raise.

*The Queen
charges
him with
aiming at
the Crown.*

QUEEN *Margaret* having failed in the Stroke which she aimed at the Earl of *Salisbury*, was not discouraged at her ill Success, but resolved still to continue the way of Force to crush him and the Party he espoused. She did not want for Sagacity, and was verily persuaded that the Duke of *York's* real Design was at the Crown. Full of this Notion she pressed the King to think of a timely Remedy and prevent his Enemy.

“ Don't you see (said she to him) that he
 “ prepares to come against you with Arms
 “ in his Hand, and is always the first Ag-
 “ gressor, because you do not march against
 “ him with your Forces? Diligence and
 “ Expe-

“ Expedition are the best Remedy, where
 “ Time and Delay are the worst Enemy.”
 The King was of a Nature too gentle and
 slow to deal with a Competitor for his
 Crown; but was a Prince of wonderful
 Goodness, and did himself a Violence when
 he was obliged to have recourse to Arms.
 He would still have been glad to appease this
 Disturbance once more by a Treaty: And
 in Answer to the Queen’s pressing Solicita-
 tions, replied, “ That the Faults of Im-
 “ patience were worse than those of Delay,
 “ as it was much better to avoid Precipices
 “ than to run upon them: But if it was
 “ necessary to come to Blows, he would levy
 “ an Army, and shew he could support his
 “ Royal Authority by the Sword.”

IN Consequence of this Resolution he sent
 Commissioners into all Parts of the Realm
 to gather Forces, in which the Dukes of
Somerset and *Buckingham*, the Queen’s chief
 Confidants, were serviceable. A great Army
 was assembled, and the King advanced with
 it to *Worcester*, the Place appointed for the
 general Rendezvous. The Duke of *York*
 and

*The King
 raises an
 Army.*

and the Earl of *Salisbury* lay still at *Ludlow*, whither the Earl of *Warwick* came to them with *Andrew Trollop* and a great Number of brave Men, well experienced in martial Affairs.

*Duke of
York's
Title to the
Crown.*

THE Duke of *York* seeing himself at the Head of so many brave Men, thought he had no Occasion to dissemble any longer the utmost Views inspired into him by his Ambition. His former Pretext for taking Arms was the Corruptions and oppressive Conduct of the Ministry, and the Redress of the Grievances of the People; but he now judged he might venture to set up his Title to the Crown. He alledged, that *Henry IV.* (Grandfather of *Henry VI.*) had unjustly deposed his Cousin-German *Richard II.*, who dying without Children, the Crown did not thereupon descend to *Henry IV.*, because *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, Son to *Edward III.*, was elder Brother to *John Duke of Lancaster*, Father to the said *Henry*, and from *Lionel* the Right descended to *Anne*, Wife of *Richard Earl of Cambridge*, Son of *Edmund Duke of York*; and from

her to himself as her Son and Heir. *Richard* thus founding his Right to the Crown
 on his being Heir to *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, and the eldest Branch of the Blood
 Royal, (which could not be denied by any
 Body) thought it became him to assert it
 like a Man of Spirit, and that it would be
 no improper Motive to be urged to his
 Friends, whose Zeal for his Service might
 be enflamed by the Hopes of Recompence,
 in Case he succeeded. He therefore broke
 his Mind to them in a Council, at which
 the Earl of *Salisbury* and some of the chief
 Officers of his Forces were present, and ex-
 pressed himself in the following Manner;
 "The War (said he) my dear Friends,
 "which we have undertaken, hath the
 "Justice of my Title for its Support, and
 "no less than a Crown in its Aim. You
 "shall share in the Greatness which it is
 "likely to produce, if you bear a Part in
 "the Danger and Labour of the Acquisi-
 "tion. Rest is an Enemy to those who
 "would raise their Fortune; and Hope
 "consists in Motion and Activity. We
 "have

" have a great Power indeed to contend
 " with, but likewise as great a Glory to
 " acquire. A Kingdom would not be de-
 " firable, if there was no Glory in the Con-
 " quest : Glory is due only to those that ac-
 " quire it by their Valour, and not to those
 " who receive it in Peace from the Hands
 " of their Ancestors. Brave Men are real-
 " ly unfortunate in being born happy ; as
 " the coming without any Difficulty to the
 " Dominions left them by their Ancestors,
 " hinders them from having the Glory of
 " acquiring them. I should be less satisfied
 " with the sole Right I have to the Crown,
 " if I did not likewise add to it that of my
 " Sword, seconded by yours. Let us then
 " go on with Courage to a Conquest no
 " less Glorious than it is Rightful ; and by
 " our Valour secure Success to our Arms,
 " and merit ourselves the illustrious Name
 " of being the just Conquerors of King-
 " doms."

*Trollop
 deserts the
 Duke of
 York, who
 disbands
 his Army
 and flies
 into Ire-
 land.*

THIS Speech, and the Declaration which
 the Duke made of his Claim of the Crown,
 were well received by most of his Friends ;

but

but were not so agreeable to *Andrew Trollop*. This brave Man and experienced Officer had served with great Reputation in the Wars of *France*, and had great Credit amongst the Soldiers that came with him from *Calais*, where he had been in Garrison. He was very faithful to King *Henry*, under Pretence of whose Service the Earl of *Warwick* had drawn him into this War. The King having got all his Forces together, advanced from *Worcester* against the Duke, who lay encamped in a Field near *Ludlow*. The two Armies were not far from one another, when *Trollop* perceiving that the Earl of *Warwick's* Design was different from what he imagined, and that instead of serving the King in this War, he was brought thither to fight against his Service, resolved to quit the Party of the Rebels, and join the King's Forces with the Men under his Command. This Resolution he put in Execution the Night before the two Armies were to engage, and was received by his Sovereign, as his Valour and Fidelity deserved.

THIS

THIS sudden Desertion drew on others: Several considerable Persons abandoned the Duke of *York*, who being surprized at this unexpected Misfortune, was in Doubt what Party to take. To fight the King in his present Situation was dangerous, and he had Reason to fear the Event, since the best of his Soldiers had left him, and the rest were disheartened by that Desertion. To turn his Back might endanger his utter Ruin, and would certainly be attended with the Loss of his Reputation. He resolved however on the safer Measure, quitted the Camp, and retired towards the Sea, in order to pass into *Ireland*, to save his own Person, and the Fortune of his Party, which proved in the End, (as we shall see) more favourable to his Son than it did to himself. The Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, with the Earl of *Marche*, the Duke of *York*'s eldest Son, and a select Company of Men took the Way of *Devonshire*, and there embarked for *Calais*. Their Army disbanded, and Part of it fell into the King's Hands, who, after having thus vanquished without fight-

ing,

ing, marched towards *Wales* in Pursuit of his Enemy, and sent some Troops before to seize certain Passages and Sea Ports, to prevent his Escape. But the Duke's Diligence secured him ; and he had by Force of Money procured a Vessel, which carried him into *Ireland*. Thus Fortune on this Occasion drew him out of one Danger to make him perish in another : But his Party shall be more happy than his Person. The Providence of God, who disposes as he pleases of the Advantages of War and the Thrones of Princes, will in the End favour the *White Rose* above the *Red*, and taking the Scepter of *England* from the House of *Lancaster*, will give it to the House of *York*.

Henry after this unbloody Victory took Care to secure the Counties of *York* and *Durham*, where the *Yorkists* had set up their Standard, and gave the Government thereof to Persons of approved Fidelity. He punished several of the *York* Party, who fell into his Hands after the Flight of their Chieftains, with Death, Exile and Imprisonment. A Parliament was called at *Conventry*,

Duke of York and his Abbevents attainted.

ventry, in which were attainted the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Marche*, *Rutland*, *Warwick*, *Salisbury* and other great Men their Adherents, their Estates forfeited, and their Heirs disinherited. The Town and Castle of *Ludlow* belonging to the Duke were ranfacked, the Duchess of *York* was stripp'd of her Goods, and sent with her little Children to be kept by her Sister the Duchess of *Buckingham*. The Adherents of the House of *York* met with the like Fate, and were plunder'd all over the Kingdom, which did not a little exasperate Matters and enflame the Animosity of the two Parties. The Estates and Spoils of the Guilty became the Recompence of those that had served the King, who were invested therewith according to their respective Services and Condition.

Somerfet
attempts
in vain to
possess him-
self of
Calais.

THE Duke of *Somerfet* was made Captain of *Calais*, and the Duke of *Exeter* Lord *Admiral* instead of the Earl of *Warwick*; but when the first came thither to take Possession of his Government, the Earl of *Warwick*, who was within the Place, shut the

Gates

Gates against him, and obliged him to retire to *Guifnes*. He was there in more Safety than those of his Party which he had left on board his Ships; for as soon as he was landed, the Seamen, who loved the Earl of *Warwick*, delivered them up to him, and some of them were executed in *Calais*. Whilst the Duke of *Somerfet* remained at *Guifnes*, frequent Skirmishes happened between him and the Lords that were in *Calais*, in which the Duke generally had the worst; so that he was forced to send over to *England* for Recruits, to convoy him back thither in Safety. This Event points out a gross Mistake in the Conduct of Queen *Margaret* and the Dukes of *Somerfet* and *Buckingham*, in that they did not sooner attempt to take *Calais* out of the Hands of the contrary Party: For this Place always furnished the *Malecontents* with Means to recover their Losses, kept them in Heart, and at last gave them the Advantage over their Adversaries; serving hereby for a remarkable Instance to shew how necessary it

G

is

is to take Frontiers and Maritime Places from the Party which one intends to ruin.

The Earl of Warwick fits out a Fleet and sur-prizes Sandwich.

THE Duke of *Exeter* had scarce any better Success in his Charge of *Admiral*, than *Somerſet* had, with Regard to his Government; they were substituted in the Place of a great Man, too well beloved to allow them to get Possession of his Charges, or to serve in them with Reputation. The general Affection bore to the Earl of *Warwick* brought great Numbers of brave Men daily over out of *England* to *Calais*, and the Confiscation of the Estates, and Prosecution of the Persons of those who favour'd the House of *York*, drove others to fly there for Refuge. There was no want of Men in the Place; but as their daily Charge was great, they were much straitned for Money. To supply this Defect, the Earl of *Warwick* took up 18000*l.* from the Staple of *Calais*, and fitting out a small Fleet, under the Command of *John Denham*, (who had furnished him and his Company with Ships to carry them out of *Devonshire*)

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sent him with a Body of Land Forces to attack the Town of *Sandwich* and some great Ships of the Royal Navy which lay in the Road at Anchor. The Attempt was made with Success, the Town was surprized by Night, the Lord *Rivers*, who was sent to keep it, and to command those Ships in an intended Expedition, was taken in his Bed, and all his Ships carried off to *Calais*; a Success with which the Sailors that mann'd them were well pleased, out of their singular Affection to the Earl of *Warwick*. This Earl being considered as the great Support of the *York* Party, Sir *Baldwin Fulford* undertook, on Pain of losing his Head, to destroy him; but after spending the King a considerable Sum of Money, could effect nothing.

THIS Success, and the Accounts they had of the Affections of the People in *England*, encouraged the Lords at *Calais*, who espoused the Cause of the *White Rose*, to form a new Design, for bringing their Chief the Duke of *York* from his Exile in *Ireland*, and to try their Fortune again in *England*. The

He visits the Duke of York in Ireland, and they resolve on a new Attempt upon England.

Earl of *Warwick* went at their Request to *Ireland*, to give the Duke, as well an Account of the State of their Affairs, as Assurances of the Continuance of their Zeal and Endeavours for his Service. Those two great Men consulted together about the proper Means for raising the Hopes of their Friends, for executing their Design, and for levying a new Army to carry the Point which they had had so long in View. It was resolved between them that the Noblemen who were at *Calais*, should pass over into *England* with all the Necessaries they could provide for raising an Army, and having done so, should march directly to *London*, the Capital of the Kingdom, the Gates of which were always open to the strongest; the City not being fortified for Defence; and the King being much more given to Exercises of Piety than those of War, of which he had so little Foresight, that he imagined he had entirely banished it from his Kingdom, by banishing thence the Persons by whom it was first levied.

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Kent,

THE Earl of *Warwick* was returning to *Warwick*
Calais to communicate this Resolution to *returns to*
the Earls of *Marche* and *Salisbury*, with *Calais,*
the rest of the Lords in that Place, when *and sur-*
in the Channel he met with the Duke of *Exe-* *prizes*
ter, the new Admiral, who had been sent *Sandwich*
with a great Navy to distress him and his *a second*
little Fleet. The Earl made ready to give *time.*
him Battle ; but the Duke heard such Mur-
murs and Discourses among his own Com-
pany in the Earl of *Warwick's* Favour, that
he thought fit to decline an Engagement,
and put into *Dartmouth*, where most of his
Soldiers deserted for Lack of Victuals and
Money. Thus the Earl returned safe to
Calais, where the Resolution taken in *Ire-*
land being laid before the Lords, they rea-
dily agreed to put it in Execution without
Delay. They were not so unanimous with
Regard to the Place of their Landing ; but
a new Success made them come to a Deter-
mination in that Point. Sir *Simon Mount-*
fort was sent by the King with a new Force
to guard *Sandwich* and the other Ports in
Kent, being the nearest Places to the Ene-

my, and the most exposed to Danger. Ships were also sent thither for carrying over five hundred Men to convoy the Duke of Somerset from *Guifnes* into *England*. As these Ships were waiting in *Sandwich* Road for a Wind, the Earl of *Warwick*, who had by his Spies perfect Intelligence of all Passages, fell upon them unawares, surprized and ransacked the Town a second time, took *Mountfort*, stripped the Soldiers of their Harnes, and carried off the Ships to *Calais*.

*He lands
in Kent
and marches
to
London.*

THIS Expedition did not only add Reputation to their Cause, but brought them welcome Intelligence of Affairs in *England*, where severe Inquisitions had been made in several Places, after the Favourers of the Duke of *York*, many of which had been hanged and quartered, and all the Inhabitants of some Towns plundered and spoiled of all their Goods. The Commons of *Kent*, dreading the like Inquisition and Treatment sent to the Earl of *Warwick*, desiring him and the rest of the Noblemen at *Calais* to come with all possible Expedition to their Succour, assuring him of their Resolution

to

to join him, if he landed in their Country. Upon this Assurance the utmost Diligence was used in preparing for a Descent in *England*. The Lord *Fauconbridge* was sent before to see if the Deeds of the Commons would correspond with their Professions; and he being immediately joined by great Numbers of Men out of *Kent*, and the adjoining Counties, the Earls of *Warwick*, *Marche* and *Salisbury* landed soon after at *Sandwich*. There they were met by *Thomas Bouchier* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Cobham* and other Gentlemen; and soon making up a Body of twenty five thousand Men, marched directly to *London*, which they entred on *July* the second, 1460, being willingly received by the Citizens.

THE King was at this time at *Coventry* with the Queen, who seeing the Storm coming, had made great Preparations to disperse it, as she had done others before. The Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Somerſet* served her with their Advice, Fortunes and Power upon this important Occasion; and they got together a Body of Forces sufficient to

*Battel of
Nor-
thampton.*

beat the Enemy. The King advanced towards *London* with this Army, which he commanded in Person, and encamped near *Northampton* in a Meadow along the River *Nen*, which he passed in order to meet and engage the Enemy, who leaving the Earl of *Salisbury* to take care of *London*, had advanced against him to that Place. The Earl of *Warwick* had no Reason to dread the Event of a Battle; but he resolved first for preventing of Bloodshed to try the Way of Treaty, and sent some Bishops to the King, desiring to be admitted to his Person, to justify his own and his Party's Innocency. The Duke of *Buckingham* denied his Request, and then the Earl sent an Herald at Arms, renewing his Desires, and requiring Hostages for his safe coming and going; but he was not allowed to deliver his Message. The Earl being incensed, sent a third Message, that he was determined to speak with his Majesty by two o'Clock in the Afternoon, or die in the Field. The Queen who was averse to all parlying, and was as much intent on fighting as the King was on

his Devotions, had prepared every thing for an Engagement. The two Armies came to Action, and the Battle was fought for two Hours with so much Fury, that the Field was covered with dead Bodies. The Lord Grey of *Rutben*'s deserting the King's Party, the Fall of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the good Conduct of the Earl of *Warwick* decided the Fortune of the Day in Favour of the last ; the King was vanquished and taken Prisoner. Ten thousand Men fell on the Spot, and there were as many taken Prisoners : Many were drown'd in endeavouring to pass the River. Besides the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lords *Beaumont* and *Egremond* were slain, and with them *John Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Son to that brave General, whom the Wars of the *English* in *France* had made so famous, and several other Commanders of great Note and Valour. This memorable Battle of *Northampton* happened on *July* the tenth in the thirty eighth Year of *Henry VI. A. D.* 1460. The Earls of *Marche* and *Warwick* led their King to *London* in the Quality of a Prisoner ;

Prisoner ; a strange Spectacle indeed ! and most extraordinary, that Fortune offers to the Eyes of Mankind : A powerful King is vanquished by his own Subjects, who strip him of his Authority and Crown, and after depriving him of his Liberty, lead him in Triumph to the Capital of the Kingdom, branding him with the Name of Traytor, and charging him with the Guilt of High Treason.

The Duke of York returns from Ireland and claims the Crown.

UPON the News of this Victory the Duke of *York*, who was in *Ireland*, crossed the Sea and came to *London* to reap the Advantages procured him by the Valour of his Friends : A Parliament had been called and was there assembled. The Duke entered the Parliament House and placed himself in the King's Throne ; but he had scarce sat down before he took off the Mask which he had worn till then, and rising up, declared his Intentions to the House in the following Harangue :

“ If any of you, my Lords and Gentlemen, are surprized to see me take this Place, be it known to you, that it is no

“ other

“ other than what my Ancestors have for-
“ merly possessed, and which was unjustly
“ taken from our Family by the Usurpation
“ of *Henry's* Grandfather. Heaven has now
“ restored it to me, as the next in Blood,
“ and the rightful Successor to King *Ri-*
“ *chard II.* and my Arms have now given
“ me the Possession thereof. Kings are
“ Judges of other Men and Arbiters of their
“ Differences : But God is the Judge of
“ Kings, and either takes away or restores
“ their Crowns, according to the Right
“ which they have to them. It has visibly
“ appeared on this Occasion, that the Jus-
“ tice of God hath interposed to restore to
“ my Family the Crown of this Kingdom,
“ which the Iniquity of Men had taken
“ from us by Violence. Follow then the
“ Will of God, and receiving a rightful
“ King, whom Providence has conducted
“ by the Hand to the Throne ; throw off
“ the Government of an Usurper and his
“ Posterity, that an End being put to the
“ Disturbances which have till now distrac-
“ ted the Kingdom, you may enjoy all the

“ Advantages of that Peace which I bring
“ the Nation.”

*He is de-
clared
Protector
and Suc-
cessor to
the King.*

THE Parliament, though forced to submit to the stronger Side, and to follow the Will of the Conqueror, could not however help being touch'd with some Awe and Respect to the Royal Authority. Great Disputes arose on this Occasion ; but it was at last enacted, That *Henry* should enjoy the Title and be served as King ; that after his Death the Crown of *England* should belong to the House of *York* ; and that in the meantime the Duke of *York* should be Protector and Regent of the Kingdom. This Ordinance of Parliament did as great Mischief to the Fortune of *Henry* as the Arms of his Enemies had done ; for if these had taken from him his Liberty, the Parliament now took away the Crown from his Son the Prince of *Wales*, and all his Posterity.

*The Queen
raises an
Army and
routs the
Duke of
York at
Wake-
field.*

THE Queen expressed great Discontent on this Occasion, and publicly declared her Resolution to revenge the Injury done her Son, and to deliver her Husband out of Captivity. She wanted neither Courage nor

Counsel

Counsel with Regard to the Party she had to take; for Nature, besides the Graces of her own Sex, had endowed her with all the Virtues of the Men, without their Defects. She raised a new Army which rendezvoused in the County of *York*. *Richard* her Enemy hastned thither with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Rutland*, to stop her Progress, and came on *Christmas-Eve* to *Sandal Castle* near *Wakefield*, where he began to assemble his Friends and Tenants.

QUEEN *Margaret* did not think it proper to allow him time to gather Strength. She had with her the Dukes of *Somerſet* and *Exeter*, the Earl of *Devonſhire*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Roos*, and in a Manner all the Lords of the North, with an Army of eighteen thousand Men. She marched with great Diligence from *York* to *Wakefield*, and encamped before the Gates of the Castle, where the Duke was posted. His whole Force did not amount to five thousand Men, so that when a Council of War was called, all his Officers were of Opinion that he should wait the coming of his Son *Edward*
Earl

Earl of *Marche*, who with a strong Body of Forces was advancing towards him. *Richard* alone was for trying the Fortune of a Battle without waiting any longer ; “ It shall never be said (says he) that the Duke of *York*, who has so often fought in *France* without any Entrenchment or other Defence than what his own Arms afforded him, was blocked up in his Camp by a Woman, without daring to stir to fight her.” His Firmness in this Resolution over-ruled the Opinion of the more Considerate. The Queen, who vastly exceeded him in Number, and commanded her Army herself, seeing her Enemy in the Humour of fighting, drew up her Troops in Order of Battle, and encouraged them with a Speech to this Effect :

*The
Queen's
Speech to
her Army.*

“ You bear this Day, my Loyal *English*,
“ the justest Arms that ever appeared in
“ any War, as being employed to restore
“ Liberty to your King, who is now a Pri-
“ soner, and the Succession of the Crown
“ to his Son, which a lawless Tyrant has
“ taken from him by Violence : For this

“ Reason

Reason I ought not to doubt, but that you
will behave yourselves valiantly, and that
each of you have already proposed to
yourselves the illustrious Name, which
you are going to acquire, of Deliverers of
your King and Protectors of the Prince
his Son. If you have a Woman for your
General, and fight under her Command,
the Advantage you will receive from
thence, is not inconsiderable; for if the
King was here present in Person, the
Booty would be the only Share you would
have in the Consequences of the Victory,
whilst he would engross all the Glory of
the Success. The King being absent, you
will now have both; and the World will
sooner give the Honour of the Victory
to your Valour than to my Conduct. I
hope however, you will see to Day, that
there is no other Difference between the
Generals of the two Armies, besides that
of their Sex. I see already in your Looks
the Courage which inspires your Hearts,
and the Resolution you have taken, ei-
ther to conquer or die; and that none
shall

“ shall be able to reproach you, that on so
 “ important an Occasion, you have done
 “ less than a Woman, who put her self at
 “ your Head.

*Duke of
 York's
 Speech to
 his Men.*

AT the Conclusion of this Speech, the
 whole Army set up a great Shout and held
 up their Arms as a Token of their Resolu-
 tion. *Richard* on his Side animated his
 Troops to the Battle by this short Harangue.
 “ If I had not already seen, my Fellow Sol-
 “ diers, undoubted Proofs of your Valour,
 “ I should employ more time in exhorting
 “ you to behave yourselves gallantly : But
 “ as you are the same brave Men that have
 “ so lately cut in Pieces a Royal Army and
 “ taken a King Prisoner, I make not the
 “ least doubt but you will vanquish a Wo-
 “ man, whom you see before you at the
 “ Head of those *Poltrons*, who are mean
 “ enough to be commanded by her, and
 “ are indeed unworthy of a better Leader.
 “ All that I desire of you is, to remember
 “ that you fight this Day for the true Heir
 “ of the Crown of *England*, who will not
 “ fail to acknowledge, in the best Man-

“ ner

ner, and reward your Valour and Services."

THIS said, he marched on the last of *Duke of York*
December out of his Camp with near five *slain, and*
 thousand resolute Men, and went to attack the *the Earl*
 Queen, who receiv'd him with much greater *of Salis-*
 Forces. The Engagement was very furious *bury put*
 in the Beginning, the Queen rode through *to Death.*
 all the Battalions, exhorting her Troops to
 behave themselves well ; but at last the
 Duke's small Army being surrounded and
 attacked on all Sides, his Cavalry gave way,
 and his Infantry falling into Disorder, those
 of the Queen broke them entirely and cut
 them in Pieces. The Duke of *York* was
 killed in the Field, as the *English* Histori-
 ans say, though *Monstrelet* assures us, that
 he was taken Prisoner with *Edmond* Earl of
Rutland, his second Son : Sir *Thomas Nevil*,
 Son to the Earl of *Salisbury*, Sir *David*
Hall, Sir *Hugh Hastings*, the Lord *Har-*
ington, with many brave and valiant Offi-
 cers lost their Lives in the Battle. A great
 Number of Prisoners were taken, the most
 distinguished of which was the Earl of *Sal-*
 isbury.

lisbury, whom the Queen soon after caused to be beheaded with the Earl of *Rutland*. She ordered the Heads of these Noblemen and that of the Duke of *York* to be fixed upon Poles over the Walls of *York*; and over that of the Duke she put a Crown of Paper by way of Derision, on Account of his having pretended to that of *England*. Such was the End of *Richard* Duke of *York*, either slain in the Battle or beheaded after the Victory, one of which was certainly his Fate, and perhaps both; for it is very probable, that after being killed in the Field his Head was cut off to be exposed to public View, and crowned with that ridiculous Diadem, to shew that Ambition, however just soever it be, is not always successful and whoever attempts to mount a Throne by Force, travels through a slippery Road full of Dangers and lined with Precipices.

The Queen gains a Battle at St. Albans and sets the King at Liberty.

AFTER this Defeat of the two principal Leaders of the opposite Party, (the Duke of *York* and Earl of *Salisbury*) the Queen did not think her Victory compleat, unless she went to *London* to deliver her Husband

from

from his Captivity. This was the Part she determined to take, and resolving either to effect her Purpose or to lose her Life, she led her victorious Army thither. But in her way at *St. Albans*, on *Shrove Tuesday* *February* the *seventeenth*, she met the Earl of *Warwick*, the third Chieftain of her Enemies, who was marching with his Troops to the Succour of the Duke of *York*, and led King *Henry* with him as a Prisoner, not daring to leave him behind in *London*. The Queen lost no time in attacking him, and routing his Forces, set her Husband at Liberty : which gives us Occasion to remark, that if this Woman, who was naturally courageous, and wanted not for Conduct, had always commanded the King's Forces, the Success might probably have been more happy, and *Henry* have suffered fewer Disgraces. But Providence, by its secret Judgments, had ordered otherwise, and was pleased to permit this Branch of the Royal Line to be crushed by the greatest Miseries that ever befel a Prince.

Warwick
joins the
Earl of
Marche.

THE Earl of *Warwick*, after his Rout, (which happen'd by the Treachery of *Lovell*, who commanded his main Battle) rallying as many as he could of his scattered Forces, went to join *Edward* Earl of *Marche*, who was advancing from the Principality of *Wales*; on the Borders of which, at *Mortimer's Cross* near *Ludlow*, he had on *Candlemas-Day* fought and defeated the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Wiltshire*, with a Body of Forces of the King's Party. The two Earls met on the Road at *Chipping-Norton* in *Oxfordshire*.

They
march to
London,
where the
Earl of
Marche
is pro-
claimed
King.

GREAT as their Losses were they did not sink their Courage. They held a Council to consider what was to be done, and resolved not to give way to their ill Fortune, but to follow the Duke of *York's* Steps and make their way to the Crown, in Despight of all Disasters, and the Death of their Fathers. They determined to march to *London* to sound the Affections of the People, and to try their Fortune; and accordingly advanced that way with all the Forces they had raised. *Henry VI.* had Advice of their

Design, and knowing the *Londoners* were more inclined to the House of *York* than his own, he took another Way and retired to *York*, with the Duke of *Somerſet* and ſome other Commanders of his Party, who helped to reinforce his Army.

Edward in the mean time arrived at *London*, and was there received by the People with great Acclamations and Rejoicings, as the Reſtorer of the Party which they favoured. He was but eighteen Years old : But beſides the Merits of his Cauſe, he had in his Perſon very amiable Qualities, which recommended him to the Eſteem, and could not fail of gaining him the Love of all the World. He was one of the handſomeſt and goodlieſt Perſons of his Age, valiant, liberal, courteous, with an infinite deal of Humanity and good Nature. Theſe Charms gained him the Hearts of the *Engliſh*, who crowded from all Parts to liſt themſelves under his Banner ; and ſuch as could not ſerve him with their Perſons did it with their Fortunes, every one opening his Purſe to aſſiſt him in his Need.

King Ed-
ward ad-
vances into
the North
against
King
Henry.

WITH these Supplies it was easy for him to raise a mighty Army, with which he advanced directly to *York*, in order to fight the King. When he was arrived at *Pontefract*, he sent the Lord *Fitzwalter* with some Companies to secure the Passage at *Ferry-Bridge*. This was done: But on the Day before *Palm Sunday*, early in the Morning, they were fallen upon by Lord *Clifford*, with a superior Force, and defeated with the Slaughter of Lord *Fitzwalter* and the Bastard of *Salisbury*. The Earl of *Warwick* hearing of this Defeat, came up to the Earl of *Marche*, and killing his Horse in his Presence, said, “ Sir, the Enemy
“ have won the Pass of *Ferry-Bridge*; yet
“ let him fly that will fly; for my Part, by
“ this good Sign, (kissing the Cross of his
“ Sword) I vow to stand by him that will
“ stand by me, and to keep the Field what-
“ ever is my Fate.” *Edward* no way ter-
rified at the Disaster, and animated by *War-
wick*’s Resolution, presently made Procla-
mation through his Army, that whoever
was unwilling to stay, or afraid to fight,

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should have leave to depart ; that such as stood by him should be well rewarded ; but if any of these should offer to fly, whoever should kill a Run-away should have double Pay. His Soldiers in general professing their Resolution to gain the Day or die by his Side, he advanced towards *York*, and on *Palm Sunday*, by Break of Day, came to the Fields of *Saxton* and *Towton*, where he had a full View of King *Henry's* Army which was sixty thousand strong, and so much superior in Number to *Edward's*, that he ordered his Men not to incumber themselves with Prisoners.

Henry having Notice of the Approach of ^{*Battel of*} his Enemies, drew up his own Troops in order ^{*Towton-*} to receive them ; but it being *Palm Sunday*, he made a Difficulty of marching to meet them, thinking it much better to employ that Day in Prayer than in fighting. This Scruple arose from the remarkable Devotion of this good Prince, who was for declining that Day the Palms which he might reasonably promise himself from the Success of the Battle, not considering that no Days are

holy Days for a King whose Crown is at Stake, when it is necessary to exert himself for its Defence : But his Troops, impatient to see themselves harass'd and insulted by the Enemy, called loudly for an Engagement, and sallied out of the Camp to attack them, so that the King was forced to make a Vertue of Necessity, and begin the Battle.

THE Archers first play'd their Part with such Execution on both Sides, that the Bodies of the Dead hindered the Valour of the Survivers, and made it difficult for them to close together. The Combat lasted ten Hours before it could be known who had the Advantage ; but at last some of the King's Troops giving Ground and falling back upon those behind, struck such a Terror into them, that they fled, thinking all was lost. The King and Queen, with some of the principal Officers followed the Fate of their Troops, and saved themselves in time ; the victorious Enemy being Masters of the Field of Battel, were so likewise of the Kingdom. The Fortune of *England* being

being enclos'd in that narrow Spot of Ground ready to follow the Vanquisher. It was the bloodiest Battle fought in these intestine Wars, above thirty three thousand Men being left dead on the Place. Among these were *Henry Percy*, the third Earl of *Northumberland*, the Lords *Beaumont*, *Grey*, *Dacres*, *Clifford*, *Willoughby* and *Wells*, the brave Sir *Andrew Trollop*, a Son of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and several other Persons of Quality : No Prisoners were taken but the Earl of *Devonshire*. The Wounded were not less than ten thousand. When Men sacrifice human Blood to their Ambition of swaying a Scepter, the Number of their Victims exceeds that of Hecatombs, and becomes in a Manner infinite.

THE King and Queen in this lamentable Carnage of their Friends, carried their own Lives and Disasters as far as they could from the Danger : They saved themselves in Scotland, flying all Night for fear of being overtaken by the Cavalry which *Edward* sent to pursue and stop them. The second Day of their Flight they arrived upon the Borders of

King Henry and Queen Margaret fly into Scotland.

of that Kingdom, and from thence sent to *James III.* of the Name King of *Scotland*, to be received into his Dominions, and be secured by his Protection. This Prince, then only seven or eight Years old, was under the Guardianship of a Council, composed of some of the principal Nobility of the Realm; the first and most considerable of which was *James Kennedy*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*. The young Prince, by their Advice, sent Answer to the distressed King and Queen, “ That he was under a very
 “ sensible Concern for their Defeat, and
 “ could have wish’d to have receiv’d them in
 “ a better Fortune; but in whatever Condi-
 “ tion they were, they should find in his Ter-
 “ ritories, all the Safety that they asked, and
 “ all the Succours that they could desire of
 “ his Crown.” To carry the Compliment further, he went to meet them, received them with all kind of Honours, and conducted them to Lodgings in his Palace; thus shewing in their Case his Respect to afflicted Royalty, and endeavouring to lighten the Calamities which had fallen upon them, and to which all Kings are liable. THE

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THE Scots made an Advantage of this Retreat of King *Henry* into their Country, to get into their Hands the Town and Castle of *Berwick*, seated upon the Confines of the two Kingdoms, which was delivered up to them on *St. Mark's* Day by the Duke of *Somerset*. Some say that *Henry* yielded it to them voluntarily, others maintain that it was extorted from him, and was the Price of his Security among them. If this was really the Case, King *James's* Council sullied the Name of this Prince with an eternal Reproach, in poorly selling an *Asylum* in his Dominions to a King persecuted by ill Fortune. He ought in Honour to have prevented his Request, and made an Offer of his Protection, and of every thing else that was in his Power to ease or redress his Misfortunes. The Relief of an afflicted King fallen from the Grandeur of his Royalty, is an Act of Beneficence that comes nearest the Pattern set us by God Almighty.

It is however fit for us to raise our Thoughts higher, and say that when God is pleased to humble and afflict a King, by

the secret Judgments of his Providence, he orders it so that the very Succours afforded him shall enhance his Misery : *Berwick* was the only Place left King *Henry* in *England*. The King of *Scotland*, who received, entertained and protected him, took it from him, and gave the finishing Stroke to his being stripped of all. Let us reflect likewise on the Blood shed by these two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* in their Disputes for the Crown, in which more Men were sacrificed than had been lost in the bloodiest Battle fought in foreign Wars. Of such fatal Consequences to a Kingdom is a disputed Succession ; other Evils may be redressed or forgot in a short time, but the Evils of this last for Ages.

*Queen
Margaret
goes to
France to
solicite
Succours.*

QUEEN *Margaret*, in the lamentable Situation of her Husband's Affairs, finding no Prospect of raising new Forces in *England*, or of getting sufficient Succours from *Scotland*, passed over into *France*, taking with her *Edward* her Son, the young Prince of *Wales*. She went to her Father *René* Duke of *Anjou*, from whom she might

most

most reasonably expect Assistance in her Distress, and left her Husband to sollicite the Scots, and encourage the faint Hopes which they had given him of Succours. Of a Sovereign Prince he was now become a Suppliant, and instead of conferring (as he had done all his Life) Favours upon others, he was now reduced to ask them in his turn.

Edward Earl of *Marche* his Enemy was in a much happier Situation. The Fortune of War had made him victorious, he entered *London* in Triumph, was received by the People with Transports of Joy, acknowledged by the Parliament, and solemnly crowned on the twenty seventh of *June* 1461 at *Westminster*. The Title of Earl of *Marche* was sunk in that of King, which he assumed by the Name of *K. Edward IV.* *Henry* being still living. Thus did Fortune, the Sovereign Arbiter of Empires, that gives and takes them away at her Pleasure, play with the Crown of *England*, and amuse her self with bandying about the Scepter of one of the finest Realms in *Europe*.

KING

KING *Edward* began his Reign with annulling in Parliament all that *Henry* his Predecessor had enacted or appointed, and with raising his own Relations and Servants to the greatest Dignities in the Kingdom. He had two younger Brothers still living, *George* and *Richard*, whom he had sent into *Holland* a few Days before that memorable and decisive Battle of *Towton*, to provide against the worst, and in Case that Day had not proved favourable to him, to secure some of his Family to support the Cause, which would have suffered if his Father's Line had been extinct. He sent them to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who received and treated them honourably; and upon their Return into *England*, he created *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*. *John Nevil*, Brother to the Earl of *Warwick*, was made Marquis *Montacute*, *William Fauconbridge* Earl of *Kent*, and *Henry Bouchier* (Brother to *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) Earl of *Essex*; thus shedding the Rays of his new Fortune upon the Persons of those who had contributed to make it, and to raise him to the Throne.

IN

IN *Scotland* Henry had got together some Troops in order to make up an Army; but as they were not sufficient for his Design, it was necessary to wait for the Arrival of Succours from *France*, which Queen Margaret his Wife, and Duke René of *Anjou* his Father-in-law solicited at the Court of *Louis XI.* Successor to *Charles VII.* This Prince, who thought it his Interest to keep up the Troubles of *England*, furnished them with two thousand Men, under the Command of *Seigneur de la Varenne*, great Seneschal of *Normandy*. With these the Queen and the Prince of *Wales* her Son returned into *Scotland*, notwithstanding all the Care that King *Edward* took to guard the Sea to intercept their Passage. She made a Descent in the North at *Tinmouth*, but meeting there with small Succour and ill Fortune, and hearing *Edward* was marching against her, she was forced to put again to Sea, intending to retire to *France*, but was driven by Strefs of Weather to *Berwick*, where she got on Shore, but lost her Ship.

*The Duke
of Somers-
et submits
to King
Edward,
but soon
revolts to
Henry.*

THE Duke of *Somerſet*, whom the ill Fortune of the King his Maſter had driven into *Flanders*, and from thence into *France*, had obtained likewise ſome Succours of Men and Money with which he repaſſed the Sea, but borrow'd ſomething of the Inconſtancy of that Element in his Paſſage. He found *Edward* too firmly ſeated in his Throne to be eaſily ſhaken. That King's Proſperity, and the ruined Condition of *Henry's* Affairs, were Trials of his Fidelity too ſtrong to be reſiſted ; he abandoned the unfortunate Cauſe, and ſubmitted to *Edward*, delivering up the Caſtle of *Bamburgh*, in which he was beſieged by the Marquis of *Montacute*. *Edward* received him with Joy, granted him a free Pardon and reſtored him to all his Eſtate, which had been given away to others, proteſting that he was ready to extend the like Graces and Favour to as many of the Partifans of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, as ſhould follow his Example of Submiſſion. He conferred likewise upon him a Penſion of a thouſand Marks a Year : But this Obligation did not fix the Duke of *Somerſet* ;

merſet ;

Somerſet ; for ſome time after ſeeing *Henry's* Affairs look with a better Aſpect, and that he was in a fair way of recovering his Crown by the Aſſiſtance of *France* and *Scotland*, he repented of what he had done, and reproached himſelf for quitting his King in the Extremity of his Diſtreſs. To repair his Fault, he quitted *Edward* with great Secrecy, and repairing to *Henry*, threw himſelf at his Feet, proteſting that he would die for his Service. He was well received, being for his Perſon and Quality very conſiderable to either Party.

Henry marched with his Army into *Eng-* Henry
invades
England,
and is de-
feated at
Hexham.
land, took the Caſtle of *Bamburgh*, and advanced into *Northumberland*, where he was joined by the Duke of *Somerſet*, Sir *Ralph Percy*, and other of his Friends. This favourable Beginning gave him great Hopes of Succeſs ; but his ill Fortune ſtill continued to perſecute him. *John Nevil* Marquis of *Montacute*, who commanded in the North, advanced againſt him, at the Head of King *Edward's* Forces ; and having in his Way routed the Lord *Hungerford* and

The HISTORY of

Sir *Ralph Percy* at *Heglay-more*, fell in the Night upon King *Henry's* Quarters at *Hexham*. The Battle was well disputed for a good while, *Henry's* Troops receiving the Charge with a desperate Resolution; but at last his Men were routed and his Army defeated. *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet* was taken Prisoner, and, with the Loſs of his Liberty loſt likewise the Choice of changing his Party again. He was brought to *Edward* who ordered him to be beheaded, puniſhing with that Severity his laſt Offence of abandoning him after the Remiſſion of his former Crimes and the Reſtitution to his Eſtate, which he could not but reſent, as being aggravated with the Guilt of Ingratitude. Such was the End of *Henry* Duke of *Somerſet*, leſs happy in that Reſpect than his Father, whoſe conſtant Fidelity gained him the Glory of dying in a memorable Battle, with Arms in his Hand, for the Service of the King his Maſter. *Robert* Lord *Hungerford* and *Thomas* Lord *Roos* had the ſame Fate; and loſt their Heads by a like Order, King *Edward* being perſuaded ſince

no Obligations could fix their Fidelity to him, that the more Enemies he put to death, the fewer he should have left; and that to exterminate the Leaders of that Party was the most effectual Way to secure his Crown. The *French* that came to assist *Henry* were besieged by the Earl of *Warwick* in the Places which they had taken, and being forced to surrender them, were sent back to *France*; of so little Force are human Succours to alter the Destiny of an unhappy Prince, and oppose the Decrees of Providence.

THE Loss of this Battle of *Hexham* occasioned a Separation of the Husband and Wife. *Henry* saved himself in a Fortrefs of the Principality of *Wales*, and from thence made his Escape into *Scotland*. Queen *Margaret*, terrified at the Series of her Misfortunes, fled in the Confusion of the Rout, and the Darknes of the Night, she knew not whither, cross a thick Forest, with her Son the Prince of *Wales*, the only Hopes of his Family and of a better Fortune. This gloomy and retired Solitude seemed to give

Queen Margaret falls into the Hands of Robbers.

The HISTORY of

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Queen Margaret falls into the Hands of Robbers.

her some Hopes of Safety in her Flight, and of Freedom from Pursuit; but when Disasters set themselves to attend any one, they pursue him in all Places, and become in a Manner his inseparable Companions. In the thickest of the Wood she met a Gang of Robbers, who seized her and stripped her of her Rings and Jewels, which she carried about her, and which were all the Remains of what she had once possessed in the World. They even put her in terrible Apprehensions that they would take away her own and the Prince's Life; but Fortune would perhaps have been too kind to her in this Respect by putting an End to her Misfortunes as well as Life, and prolonged the latter on purpose to make her suffer still greater Miseries. *Monstrelet* relates the Fact in this Manner: He says that the Robbers quarrelled among themselves about dividing the Queen's Jewels, and fell from Words to Blows, making use of Force and the Sword, (the only Justice that prevails among Robbers) to decide their several Pretensions. Whilst they were slashing one another, the Queen stole away from

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from them and continued her Flight cross the Forest, carrying in her Arms the Prince of *Wales*, who was quite tired with walking, and could march no further. Loaded with this Burden, as well as her Misfortunes she made her way the best she could through the Thicket, and went where Chance or her Destiny led her. Soon after she saw a Robber coming towards her with his Sword aloft, going, in all Probability, to the Rendezvous of the rest, to give them an Account of some wicked Exploit which he had performed. She discovered him at a sufficient Distance to gather up her Spirits, and when he came up to her, she with a Tone of Voice and an Air of Majesty, which her Miseries could not take from her, presenting the Prince of *Wales* to him, said, *Here, my Friend, save the King's Son.* The Name of King struck such an Awe into the Soul of the Robber, that it brought the Queen more Safety than she would have found in *London*. The Man forgot his Inhumanity to become respectful; instead of robbing he lent his Succour, and however cruel and unjust his

Trade and Practice had been, he now signalized himself by an Act of Compassion and Justice. He took the young Prince in his Arms, and carried him till he had conducted the Queen to the Sea Coast, where she found Means to embark, and landed at *Sluys in Flanders*.

Escaping into Flanders, she is well received by the Duke of Burgundy.

FROM thence she went to *Bruges*, where she left her Son and passed on her self to *Lisle*, where the Count *de Charolois* then was, by whom she was received very honourably. From *Lisle* she went to *Bethune* to visit *Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy*, who being then at *St. Pol*, sent a Party of Horse to escort her thither, and secure her against the Excursions of the Garrison of *Calais*. There had been some secret Animosities between him and her Family; but the Duke generously forgot what was passed, to give the Queen in her present Distress all the Succour that he could, which was a considerable Sum of Money, and a strong Convoy to attend her into the Duchy of *Bar*, which belonged to her Brother the Duke of *Calabria*.

Edward

Edward being informed that Queen Margaret was got again into *France*, and was soliciting for fresh Succours, caused her Motions there to be narrowly watched ; and in *England* he took care to have the Ports well guarded, for fear she should return to disturb the Quiet of his Reign. He dreaded the Spirit and Activity of this Queen more than he did the Conduct and Practices of her Husband ; and with Reason ; for Henry's Conduct was none of the wisest. This unhappy Prince grew weary of his Stay in *Scotland*, which he considered as an Exile, and imagining that his Presence in *England* would draw great Numbers to his Party, and work a Change of his Fortune for the better, he resolved to go thither privately in a Disguise, not considering that Fortune is never blind when she is minded to ruin a King. The Event was answerable to the Folly of the Attempt: He had scarce arrived upon the Borders of the Kingdom, before he was discovered, seized and carried to *London* to King *Edward*, who caused him to be imprisoned in the *Tower*, where he

Henry VI.
seized in
England
and im-
prisoned
in the
Tower.

remained for several Years. Such was the Diversity of Changes in his Fortune which this King was destined to feel; he had been tumbled down from a Throne into a Prison; the Queen his Wife had delivered him from thence and put him again on the Throne; he had been driven from thence a second time, and now passing from one Persecution to another he changed his Exile for a new Imprisonment. Fortune in order to magnify the Glory of her Changes, seems to have raised up wonderful Memorials of Calamities in her Persecution of this Prince, his Wife and his Son, the Greatness and Variety of whose Miseries afford so many Prodigies of her Inconstancy.

The miserable Condition of his Party.

Henry's Party was entirely sunk and ruined by this last Misfortune of their King. The Princes of the House of *Lancaster* and most considerable Noblemen attached to its Interest, quitted the Kingdom and retired into the Duke of *Burgundy's* Territories, where soon after their Arrival, and before it was known who they were, they suffered all the Extremities of Want and Poverty.

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Philip de Commines, who himself saw them in that Condition, says, *That Beggars who sued for Alms were not so poor as these Refugees.* He observed, among others, the Duke of *Exeter* on Foot without Shoes or Stockings, following the Train of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and without telling his Name, begging Bread from House to House. This Duke learned by dear Experience, that the Quality of a Prince did not exempt him from the Miseries of Humanity, and the wretched State to which Fortune reduced him, of begging his Bread from Door to Door, shews by so memorable an Example, that she can when she pleases, humble the Pride and abase the Greatness of Men, and of Princes make them Beggars.

QUEEN *Margaret* was in *France* when she heard the News of the King her Husband's Imprisonment; it gave her great Uneasiness, but instead of being discouraged in her Measures, she redoubled her Solicitations in that Court. *René* Duke of *Anjou*, her Father, assisted her as well as he was able. *Louis XI.* lent her 20,000 *l.* at *Chinon*,

Queen Margaret gets Assistance from France.

non, but upon Conditions that as soon as *Henry* should be at Liberty and had recovered *Calais*, he should give the Government of it to *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, and *John de Foix* Count of *Candale*, and pay him likewise the Sum of 40000 Crowns; but these Conditions were not in the Power of the Person that promised them, and that unfortunate Prince's Imprisonment lasted much longer than she imagined.

Edward
IV. re-
wards his
Friends,
and pro-
vide for
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rity of his
Reign.

Edward in the mean time, seeing his Adversary in his Power, and in no Condition to undertake any thing for disturbing the Quiet of his Reign, called a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, by whose Advice he settled the Affairs of his Kingdom. In that Assembly the great Men who had appeared in Arms against him, were attainted of High Treason, and with their forfeited Lands he rewarded the Services of those who had ventured their Lives and Fortunes to set him on the Throne. He applied himself to gain the Hearts of his People, as the surest Support of his Government; and it was his constant Business for four Years to-

gether to secure himself against all Disturbances within the Realm. But there was still Reason to apprehend Danger from abroad, and foreign Powers might be willing to disturb his Government and give Succours to his Rival. Queen *Margaret* was continually soliciting them for that Purpose, and was favoured therein by the natural Disposition which all Princes have to create Obstacles to the aggrandizing of their Neighbours, or at least to moderate their too great Felicity. *Edward*, to secure himself from abroad, turned his Thoughts that way, and endeavoured to engage the Friendship of his Neighbours by Alliances. With this View he married the Princess *Margaret* his Sister to *Charles* Count of *Charolois*, Son of *Philip the Good Duke of Burgundy*, and sent *Richard* Earl of *Warwick* as his Ambassador extraordinary to *Louis XI.* to demand of him in Marriage the Lady *Bona of Savoy*, Sister to Queen *Charlotte*, and educated in the Court of *France*.

THE Earl negotiated this Affair with Success, the King and Queen giving their Consent :

*Earl of
Warwick
sent to
France
to demand
Bona of
Savoy in
Marriage
for Ed-
ward IV.*

sent: But when the Treaty was upon the Point of Conclusion; and going to be sign'd, an Express came to the Earl, with Letters of Advice from his Friends, that the King's Love had taken another Scent, and a present Object had drove the absent out of his Thoughts; that *Elizabeth* Daughter of the Earl of *Rivers* and of *Jaqueline*, eldest Daughter of *Peter* of *Luxemburg* Count of *St. Pol*, and Widow of Sir *John Grey*, a simple Knight, had so captivated his Senses and Reason, that he idolized her Face, and was inclined to marry her; but that the vast Disparity of their Conditions had made him as yet content to love her in secret. The Earl of *Warwick* wrote back to those who had most of the King's Confidence, and advised them by all Means possible to divert him from such a Thought, and prevail with him to stifle a Passion, which would sink his Majesty's Reputation abroad, and make himself appear despicable and ridiculous at the Court of *France*.

*Who in the
Interim
marries
the Lady
Grey.*

THIS was attempted with all the Address imaginable, but in vain, for Princes love like

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like other Men, and sometimes with greater Folly. Love prevailed over all Advice, and Passion got the better of Reason. *Edward* married this Widow Lady, who was already Mother of two Sons: But to find some Excuse or Colour for his blind Inclination, and to allay the Uneasiness of his People, who were very averse to so unequal a Match, he wrote to the Count *de Charolois*, that this Lady had Relations of great Quality in *Burgundy*, and desired him to send such of them as made the best Figure over into *England*, to assist at his Marriage. The Earl easily saw into the King's Design, and sent to *James* Count of *St. Pol*, Uncle to the Lady, causing him to be attended with an hundred gallant Gentlemen richly attired. The Marriage was celebrated: And King *Edward* gratified his Passion to Satiety. He who had mounted the Throne through all the Dangers of Battles, now descended from it and abased himself to the Charms of a frail Beauty; and after resisting all the Force of *England*, could not resist the Looks of a Woman, who had nothing in her

Face, but what might be taken away by a Fever. He had vanquished King *Henry* and all his Armies, and yet could not vanquish himself; so great Power hath Love over all the Reason of Men, that it serves not so much to correct as to obey their Affections.

Warwick
incensed
against
King
Edward
meditates
Revenge.

Richard Earl of *Warwick* returned into *England* full of Confusion at the ridiculous Part he had been made to act in his Embassy. He was a Man of Judgment and Temper, well versed in all the Arts of a Court; and took care to let nothing escape from him, either in Word or Action, that might discover the least Resentment at his Treatment: But in his Soul he meditated Vengeance, to which he was likewise tempted by other Injuries, which he pretended to have received from the King. If ever Prince was obliged to a Subject, *Edward IV.* was so to the Earl of *Warwick*: it was to his Services that he owed his Crown; but when he found himself seated in it, he began to suspect the Authority he had given the Earl, and took away a good Part of what he had conferred upon him. The Earl had still another

other Occasion of Complaint, in a Matter, which a Man of his Delicacy, in Point of Honour, could not but resent in the highest Degree. The King was of a very amorous Complementation, and had attempted to debauch one of the Earl's Daughters, without considering the eternal Reproach which an Action of such Ingratitude would lay upon him, or the indelible Infamy it would bring on the noble Family which he intended to Dishonour.

THE Earl, upon his Return to *London*, gave the King an Account of his Embassy in *France*, and passed some time at Court without any Air of Discontent, behaving himself all the time with great Complaisance to his Majesty, and extolling the new Queen's Beauty and natural Endowments : But after some time, pretending a slight Indisposition in his Health, asked leave for Change of Air to go into the County of *Warwick*, and retired thither. This was in the Year 1467, and in the sixth Year of King *Edward's* Reign.

SOME

*And pre-
ses his
Brothers
to join
with him.*

SOME Days after he arrived at *Warwick*, he wrote to his Brothers, *George* Archbishop of *York*, and *John* Marquis of *Montacute*, inviting them to come and pass some time in the Country, and to favour him with their Company. They came accordingly, and some Days passed in Discourses upon indifferent Subjects, but the Earl at last took Occasion to complain of the King, who not content with slighting the signal Services which he had done him, made it his Business likewise to destroy their Family. After mentioning some Facts to verify his Charge, he pressed them to take the Part of King *Henry*, to deliver him from his Imprisonment, and restore him to the Throne ; expressing his Sentiments on the Subject to this Effect :

“ IF the Nearness of our Blood, and the
“ Education which we had together in our
“ younger Years, had not made me so per-
“ fectly known to you, that there is no In-
“ clination in my Nature with which you
“ are not acquainted, I might possibly fear,
“ my Brothers, you would accuse me of a

Light-

Lightness of Mind and Inconstancy of Will, on Account of the Proposal, which I have now made you ; but knowing how justly Men are condemned for any Inequality in their Humour and Conduct, you will not easily think me capable of that Defect. You will on the contrary be rather amazed that I have done so many Services to a Man who hath requited them so very ill ; that instead of treating me as the Person who put the Crown upon his Head, he either turns me out of Employments, or if he gives me any, (as he did in the late Embassy to *France*) it is only to affront and cover me with Shame, and to make me appear contemptible in the Eyes of the foreign World, as well as of the People of this Kingdom. Do not imagine that it is my own particular Interest (which however ought to be yours) that is solely concerned on this Occasion, you will find yours as grossly attacked. *Edward* endeavours to destroy the Splendor of our Family, to lessen its Authority, and evidently takes

K

“ Measures

“ Measures for its Ruin. This he does, as
 “ much out of Hatred to us and a Desire
 “ to sink our Power and Credit in the Na-
 “ tion, as out of a low Inclination which
 “ makes him love mean and worthless Fel-
 “ lows, and puts him upon Means to de-
 “ stroy Men of Quality, who (he believes)
 “ may one Day prove an Obstacle to his
 “ unjust Dominion. The Gentry of *Eng-*
 “ *land* do not easily bear with unjust Usurp-
 “ ers of Crowns ; and we have seen in a
 “ very little time two Kings and two Reigns
 “ in this Nation. *Henry* in his natural In-
 “ clination would give no Occasion of Com-
 “ plaint to any Body : He is a Prince of an
 “ holy Life, and was born in the Throne,
 “ which he received from his Ancestors by
 “ a direct Succession from Father to Son :
 “ He is Liberal and Beneficent ; never for-
 “ gets the Services which he hath received,
 “ and loves the Gentry, which he considers
 “ as the best Support of his Government.
 “ The Prince of *Wales* his Son hath all his
 “ Virtues, with a Spirit that will carry him
 “ to all great Actions : All good Men look

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" upon him as the rising Sun of their Hopes,
 " and of the Prosperity of *England*. *Ed-*
 " *ward*, who possesses the Throne, is fallen
 " into the Contempt of all Men of Distinc-
 " tion : His scandalous Debauches, and a-
 " bandoning himself to Pleasures, have ren-
 " der'd him generally odious in the World ;
 " and if he meets with any Regard in his
 " Court and in *London*, it is only among
 " his Flatterers : Vice has no Credit but in
 " Flattery. Take up then, my Brothers,
 " the same Resolution with me of ventur-
 " ing your Lives and Fortunes to deliver
 " K. *Henry*, and put him upon the Throne
 " of his Fathers: This is your only Resource,
 " if you would not see our Family destroy'd
 " and your selves buried in its Ruins.

THE Archbishop of *York*, without the He pre-
 least Hesitation, declared himself entirely of vails with
 the same Sentiments with the Earl of *War-*
wick ; but the Marquis of *Montacute* was of
 a quite different Opinion, and not only ex-
 pressed his Dislike of what was proposed,
 but endeavoured to dissuade them from en-
 gaging in the Design, till the Earl had as-

sured him that several of the principal Nobility of the Kingdom concurred with him in the Resolution, and would assist with all their Power and Fortunes to make it successful. This Consideration removed all the Marquis's Difficulties; he embarked in the Affair, and promised to further it with all his Power.

And engages the Duke of Clarence in the Conspiracy.

George Duke of Clarence had receiv'd from his Brother King *Edward* some Occasion of Discontent. The Earl of *Warwick*, whose Penetration few Things could escape, knew it very well, went to wait upon him, and to engage him to unbosom his Mind, began to complain in Terms moderate and gentle enough, of the small Accompt the King made of his most faithful Servants. The Duke immediately fired, and ran Riot upon the Subject; making heavy Complaints, in Terms that mark'd the highest Resentment. This made the Earl open himself more plainly to him, and acquaint him with his Design, labouring at the same time to engage him in it, after pointing out to him the Measures propos'd to be taken,

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which seemed to give an almost infallible Assurance of Success. The Duke promised to be of the Party: And to make the Union between them still closer by an Alliance, the Earl gave him his eldest Daughter, named *Isabella*, in Marriage.

HE had been long possessed of the Government of *Calais*, the only Place left the *English* of all their Conquests in *France*, and of such Importance, that *Philip de Commines* calls it, *The greatest Treasure of England, and the finest Captainry of the World, or at least of Christendom*. The Earl of *Warwick* kept his Wife and Daughters in that Town, and resolving to go thither, did not want a reasonable Pretext for the Voyage. But before he set out he took Care to kindle that Fire which afterwards raised so great a Flame, that lasting for some Years, it was very near consuming the whole Kingdom.

HE gave Orders to the Archbishop of *York* Insurrection in Yorkshire. and the Marquis of *Montacute* his Brothers, that as soon as he was gone they should raise some Disturbance in the County of *York*,

(which was the Beginning of that famous Civil War, the Event of which we shall see hereafter) that his Absence might secure him from all Suspicion of being any way concern'd in it, as might otherwise possibly have been imagined : His Brothers did not fail to execute his Orders on this Occasion. There was in the City of *York* an ancient and rich Hospital called *St. Leonard's*, where poor Pilgrims were harboured and entertained, and sick Persons taken care of and supplied with all Necessaries. The Revenue of this Hospital arose from a certain Proportion of Corn contributed by the Husbandmen throughout the Province. The Archbishop of *York's* Emissaries persuaded the Country People that the Corn which they gave was not employed for the Sustenance of the Poor, but diverted to other Uses, purely for the Profit of the Trustees or Governors of the Hospital. The Farmers upon this Suggestion refused to pay their usual Contribution, and as those that collected them were for obliging them to pay by Force, they took up Arms and fell upon them. This was followed

lowed by several private Meetings, called by the Faction of those who were the Authors and Fomenters of this Disturbance ; several Conspiracies were set on Foot and carried on ; and their Number augmenting daily, they found themselves in a short time to be fifteen thousand arm'd Men, and march'd in Battle Array towards *York*, filling the City with a general Consternation. The Inhabitants not daring to fall out against them, kept close within the Walls of the Town, and were even afraid of being there forced by the revolted Peasants. The Marquis of *Montacute*, Lord Lieutenant of the County, inspired them with a braver Resolution to fight these Rusticks, and to meet them without their Gates, where, after a sharp Engagement, *Robert Huldron* their Captain was taken, whose Head the Marquis caused immediately to be struck off, using this Severity towards those whom he had spirited up himself to a Revolt, for the better covering of his Design, or perhaps to shew the King, that he was not engaged in any Conspiracy formed by his Brother.

*The Earl
of Pem-
broke sent
against the
Rebels; is
routed.*

THE Loss of their Captain did not dishearten the discontented Multitude, but not being able for want of proper Engines and Warlike Machines to take *York* by Force, they chose another Leader, and turned their March directly towards *London*, either to demand Justice for the Injuries they had received, or to carve it out for themselves. King *Edward* seeing this Storm ready to break upon him, took Measures to disperse it, and sent against them *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, with an Army of eighteen thousand *Welshmen*, and with Orders to fight and defeat that Mob, if any Occasion offered. The Earl marched directly against them, and finding them encamped near *Northampton*, attacked and fought them; but was himself beaten and his Forces routed by this Rabble, who being enriched by the Booty and Spoils of the Field, returned homewards to enjoy what they had gotten, and to wait for the Arrival of the Earl of *Warwick*, whose Return from *Calais* they had been bid to expect.

NOR

NOR was the Earl slow in coming: He set out with his Son-in-law the Duke of Clarence, and arrived in the Country, where he still found this turbulent Multitude, extolled their Courage, commended their Conduct, regaled some, carested them all, and formed them into the regular Body of an Army, which he reinforced by new Levies. King *Edward* was not at all dismayed at the Defeat of the Earl of *Pembroke*, but supplying him with new Recruits, sent him with an Army of sufficient Force against the Enemy, and followed himself in Person with a flying Camp at a small Distance, to be ready to assist him in Case of Necessity, saying aloud to his Courtiers and Soldiers, *That he was going to extirpate all the Race of lewd Fellows in his Kingdom.* The Earl of *Warwick* having Advice of his Approach, dispatched an Express to the Duke of *Clarence*, desiring him to bring up his Troops with all possible Expedition. The Duke advanced immediately and joined him with his Forces.

The Earl of Warwick puts himself at their head.

*Defeats
the Earl
of Pem-
broke.*

THE two Armies met near *Banbury*, and there decided their Difference by the Fate of a Battle, which was fought with great Ardour on both Sides; but the Person of the Earl of *Warwick* carried Victory with him to whatever Party he espoused. We have already seen it to be so, when he fought for *Edward*; and now that he had his Sword in Hand against him, and had thrown away the Scabbard into the Sea of *Calais*, Victory still followed his Person. He defeated *Edward's* Army, took the Earl of *Pembroke* Prisoner, and killed the Earl of *Rivers*, Father to the new Queen, and his Son *John Woodeville*, who ended their Fortune almost in its very Beginning, and had scarce entered into the King's House by so remarkable an Alliance, before they were turned out of it by a Period being put to their Lives. The Earl of *Pembroke*, his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, and some other Knights and Gentlemen taken with him were beheaded by the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick's* Orders: For in these Civil Wars of the *English*, Clemency and Generosity

feldom

feldom or never attended the Triumph of the Conqueror ; Vengeance and Cruelty usurped the Place of those Virtues, and the Heads which the honourable Sword of the Soldier had spar'd, were cut off by that of an infamous Executioner ; so little desirous were these Men of Glory, that all their Care seems to be taken for extinguishing its Light and Lustre in the Blood of the vanquished.

KING *Edward* upon the News of this Defeat, advanced with his Army, which he would have done much better to have joined at first with the Earl of *Pembroke's* Forces. He encamp'd between *Northampton* and *Banbury*, in which last Place the Earl of *Warwick* lay to refresh his Troops. The King did not think himself strong enough to attack the Earl, and therefore took another Way, endeavouring to make an Accommodation. *Warwick* readily hearken'd to the Proposal, and promised on his Side to do every thing that was in his Power to restore the Quiet of the Kingdom. The Deputies employed in negotiating this Affair, came and went several times between
the

*And takes
King Ed-
ward Pri-
soner.*

the two Armies, the Earl all the time expressing his Desire that the Differences between the King and him might be terminated by the Pen rather than by the Sword. The King was persuaded of his Inclination that way, and thinking the Peace as good as concluded, was very negligent in providing for the Safety of his Camp. The Earl, who watched all his Motions and Proceedings, was soon advertised by his Spies, of the ill Guard that was kept, and formed a Design to surprize him, which succeeded to his Expectation. Marching in the Night with the best of his Troops, he fell upon the Camp, attacked and carried the Entrenchments, killed all that offered to make Resistance, and piercing even to the King's Tent, took him Prisoner, and carried him to *Warwick*. From thence his Majesty was conveyed to *Middleham-Castle* in *Yorkshire*; thus paying with the Loss of his Liberty for the Fault of his Negligence.

THE News of the Defeat and rigorous Execution of the Earl of *Pembroke*, soon flew over all the Kingdom: But that of the

Surprize

Surprize of King *Edward*, flying on stronger Wings, out-stripped the other, and crossing the Sea, notified the Captivity of a great King, to all the Powers of *Europe*, who received thence Affliction or Joy, according to the Diversity of their Affections and Interests. In *France* *Louis* XI. saw himself revenged, for *Edward*'s refusing to promise that he would not assist the Duke of *Burgundy* against him, and for the Affront which he had offered to the Princess *Bona* his Sister-in-law: He saw himself revenged of this Indignity by the very Person whom King *Edward* had employed as his Minister to ask her in Marriage. Queen *Margaret*, who had taken Refuge in that Country, saw at that Distance the Doors of the King her Husband's Prison opened, and he replaced upon the Throne: But the Hopes of Men, when they do not suit the secret Judgments of God, and are not supported by the Decrees of Providence, pass away like Lightnings of the Night, which after the deceitful Offering of a short and momentary Light, vanish and appear no more.

Edward

*The King
makes his
Escape.*

Edward in the mean time led a doubtful uneasy Life in Prison, where having no other Means of Deliverance, nor any Power to force his Guards, but Promises and Oaths, he made a liberal Use thereof to corrupt them, and did it with so much Dexterity, that he brought them over to his Interests. Kings are very dangerous Custody; their Crowns have the Property of often tempting, as well the Fidelity of the Men as the Chastity of the Women. *Edward* got out of Prison, and made his Escape with those to whose Guard he was committed. It seems a very remarkable Blunder in the Earl of *Warwick*, that when he made so little Accompt of the Lives of Generals of Armies, when Victory had delivered them into his Hands, he should give himself the Trouble of putting a Guard upon King *Edward*, since he could not but know, that as long as this Prince was living, *Henry VI.* for whom he fought, could never be secure upon his Throne, nor his Posterity in the Succession of the Crown: But when out of several Kings in a Realm, God is minded to

save

save some and destroy others, according to the Determination of his Providence, he hardens the Hearts of Men and blinds their Judgment, to make them Instruments of his Purposes.

Edward, as soon as he got out of Prison, *And marches to London.* repaired to *York*, where the Citizens receiv'd him with incredible Alacrity and Joy. There he endeavoured to get together a Body of Troops which might enable him to march to *London* to encourage and strengthen his Party, which had been much weakened by his Defeat and Imprisonment. But as in the direct Road to that Metropolis, he was to pass through the Army of his Enemies, he did not think his Forces strong enough to venture the putting himself in their Way, he turned aside into *Lancashire*, where *William Lord Hastings*, Lord Chamberlain, had raised a good Number of Forces. Being joined by this Body of Men he advanced directly to *London*, where he was joyfully received by the Citizens, and put Things into the same Condition wherein they had been before his Captivity. The Earl of

Warwick and the Duke of *Clarence*, who had, upon the King's being made Prisoner, dismissed a great Part of their Forces, were under an inexpressible Concern when they heard the News of the King's Escape, and of the Treachery of the Guards, to whose Care he had been confided. They now saw their late Victory turned to their Loss, and all the Projects they had formed upon that Foundation which failed them, over-turn'd at once ; so deceitful are all human Felicities, that our very Prosperities are often the Means and Occasion of our Disasters.

*Treats for
an Accom-
modation,
but in
vain.*

THESE Diffensions between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, and the Rage of Civil War which they occasion'd, had now brought *England* to the Brink of Ruin ; and of a fine Kingdom had made it an hideous Scene and Representation of dismal Calamities. The Country lay Waste, deserted by the Husbandmen, the Lands were untill'd, the Towns left desolate, and a great Part of their Inhabitants murdered, the Churches prophaned, the sacred Vessels pillaged and carried off by the sacrilegious Hands of the Soldiers ;

Soldiers; and in general, all Places full of Murder, Blood and Horror. *England* was no longer it self, but a frightful Carcase of that fine Part of *Europe*, upon which the *English*, its own Children, had by an execrable Parricide exercised their Rage and Madness. Some good Men, and those of Quality, whom God hath preserved from the Sword, in the Midst of these bloody Wars, seeing their Country in this miserable Condition, melted into Tears, and bewailing its Disasters, laboured earnestly to find out Remedies to put an End to its Miseries. They went one while to the King, exhorting him to Peace, and at other times to the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Duke of *Clarence*, representing to them, that the Life or Death, the Saving or the Ruin of their Country depended upon them, and beseeching them to embrace the former Party, and merit the glorious Title of being the Restorers of their Country. They prevailed so far by their Remonstrances as to bring the King, the Earl, and the Duke to see one another, and treat of a reasonable Accommodation. The

L

Confe-

Conference was held at *London*, in which *Point Warwick* complied with the King, and coming thither with his Son-in-law, well accompanied for their Security, met King *Edward* in *Westminster-Hall*. They talked together a long time; but this Conference produced no other Effect, than to continue the Animosity that was between them, and to justify the Truth of this Observation, "That there are no Enemies so irreconcilable as those who have once been great Friends."

*Insurrection in
Lincolnshire by
Sir Robert Wells.*

Edward, after this fruitless Conference, went to visit the Tomb of *St. Thomas* of *Canterbury*, pursuant to a Vow he had made. The Duke and the Earl went to *Warwick*, where they gathered about them a strong Body of Men. There happened at the same time a Rising in *Lincolnshire*, where *Sir Robert Wells*, a Man of Valour and Experience, put himself at the Head of those who had taken Arms. The King was much moved at the News of this Disturbance: He had parted from the Earl at the last Conference, with some Hopes that he would

comply,

comply, so that their Difference might be terminated without Arms; and now seeing his Expectation baulked, he was highly incensed. He wrote to *Richard Lord Wells*, Father to Sir *Robert*, who commanded the *Lincolnshire* Forces, pressing him to come to Court. Lord *Wells* at first excused himself, on Account of some Indisposition which he pretended to have: But the King sending to him again, that he must needs come, he set out with his Brother-in-law Sir *Thomas Dymocke*, to attend his Majesty's Pleasure: But he had scarce set Foot in *London*, when some of his Friends gave him Notice, that he should take care of himself, for the King was highly incensed at his and his Son's Proceedings. Upon this Advice he took Refuge with *Dymocke* in the Sanctuary of *Westminster*. The King believing that he might reclaim the Son by the Father's Means, tempted them thence, by assuring them of a Pardon, and giving them his Word and Honour for their Safety. They came accordingly to his Majesty, who ordered Lord *Wells* to write to his Son,

and to charge him to quit the Earl of *Warwick's* Party and come to the King's Service. This was done, but without the expected Effect.

Who is defeated and slain.

THE King having raised an Army, marched with it against the Enemy, taking with him the Lord *Wells* and Sir *Thomas Dymocke*, and advanced near *Stamford*, where the Enemy lay encamped. There Lord *Wells* renewed his Instances with his Son, doing all that was possible to reclaim him; but he making Light of his Letters, continued firm in the Party which he had embraced. The King was so provoked at this, that Passion got the better of his Honour, and Resentment made him unjust and cruel. He broke his Faith, and caused the Lord *Wells* and *Dymocke* to be beheaded, almost in the Sight of the Son, who lay encamped in the Neighbourhood, and being justly incensed at this Treatment of his Father, resolved either to revenge his Blood or to shed his own. Sir *Robert* had Orders from the Earl of *Warwick* his General, to hazard no Engagement, but to wait till he came up with

with his Forces; and this he was determined to do, till seeing the King approach with his Army, the Heat of his Youth, and an impatient Desire of revenging his Father's Death, hurried him to a different Resolution. He gave Battle to the Royal Army, and fought for several Hours with great Valour and Conduct. The Slaughter was great, and Victory was in Suspence what Party to take, seeing them both equally brave; till at last Sir *Robert's* Troops being galled by the King's Artillery, turned their Backs and fled. Sir *Robert* endeavour'd to rally them, and lead them on again to the Combat; but in doing this Part of the Duty of a Captain, he was surrounded by the Enemy, taken Prisoner, and brought to *Edward*, who ordered him immediately to be beheaded, with Sir *Thomas de la Lante* and some other Gentlemen who were taken with him. This Victory of *Edward's* was signalized by the Number of the slain, ten thousand Men being left dead on the Place; *England* still continuing to work out her own Destruction.

Warwick
retires be-
yond Sea.

THE Earl of *Warwick* receiv'd the News of this Overthrow, when he was on the Point of setting out from his own House with a Body of Troops to re-inforce Sir *Robert Wells's* Forces. He was very sensible what a weakening it must be for a good while to his Party; but endeavoured however to raise the sinking Spirits of his Friends, and to levy a new Army. He attempted likewise to bring over to his Interest *Thomas Lord Stanley* his Brother-in-law, a Man of great Authority and Credit; but received from him in Answer, "That he knew no
" lawful Party which a good Man could
" take, but that of the King; that he was
" born in Subjection to a Royal Crown,
" and could not serve but under its Autho-
" rity." The Earl hereupon despairing of being able to make Head against *Edward*, retired with the Duke of *Clarence* to *Exeter*, where after a Stay of some Days, he resolved to dismiss his Army and go over into *France* to King *Louis XI.* who loved and esteemed him.

WITH

WITH this View he embarked at *Dart-* *Is denied Entrance into Calais.*
mouth, being accompanied by his Son-in-law, with both their Wives and Families, and escorted by a good Number of Ships in their Passage. He directed his Course towards *Calais*, of which Town he was Governor, and had left it, with some Gentlemen of his Household, under the Care of the *Seigneur de Vaucler*, who commanded there in his Absence: But when he was going to land there, instead of such a hearty Reception as the Governor might expect, he was saluted with some Cannon-shot from the Rampart, and could hardly obtain from those within, (what is scarce ever refused to the meanest Persons) some Bottles of Wine for the Duchess of *Clarence*, who was then in Labour on Shipboard, where she was delivered of a Son, bringing into the World, upon the most inconstant of the Elements, a Child who was born in the Inconstancy of his Father's Fortune, and suffered all the Rigours and Calamities thereof.

Vaucler's rough and ungrateful Treatment of the Person who had put him in his Place,

and entrusted him with the Command of a Town, which was his only Refuge in Adversity, was so agreeable to King *Edward*, that he made him Knight of the Garter, and sent him a Patent under the Great Seal of *England* to be Governor in Chief of *Calais*. The Duke of *Burgundy*, Brother-in-law to *Edward*, and a great Enemy likewise to the Earl of *Warwick*, sent *Vaucher* Thanks for this important Service to his Brother's Party, and the Grant of a Pension of a thousand Crowns a Year; dispatching also *Philip de Commynes* to him, in order to engage him to continue his Affection to the King of *England*. *Commynes* made him take an Oath to that Purpose, at the *Hotel del L'Escaille*: But *Vaucher* under all these feigned Appearances of Disloyalty, concealed the most signal Fidelity to *Warwick*, that he ever received from any Man that had followed his Party; as we shall see in the Course of this Relation. It is even said, that he secretly sent Advice to him, as he lay at Anchor in the Road before *Calais*, and gave him to understand, " That if he
" opened

" opened the Gates to him, he should give
 " the finishing Stroke to the Ruin of his
 " Fortune and Party ; that the People of
 " *Calais* did not love him ; that the Lord
 " of *Duras*, and a great Number of *Eng-*
 " *lishmen* of Quality, and that had Autho-
 " rity and Credit in the Town were his
 " Enemies, so that his best Expedient was
 " to retire into *France* by the Coast of *Nor-*
 " *mandy* ; and that as for the Place which
 " he had confided to him, he would give
 " him a good Account of it, when time
 " should serve, and a proper Occasion offer."

This is a remarkable Instance to shew that
 Friendship and Fidelity, when they are not
 attended and guided by Prudence, may do
 more Hurt than Service to a Friend, in such
 a Juncture, and the like distressed Situation
 of his Affairs.

THE Earl of *Warwick* giving Credit to
 his Advice and Professions, weighed An-
 cior ; and though the Duke of *Burgundy*
 was strong at Sea, he took several of his
 Ships, and by the Booty found on board,
 was enabled to provide for the Maintenance

*And lands
 in France,
 where he
 is well re-
 ceived by
 Louis XI.*

of his own, which was a seasonable Relief under his Misfortunes. He afterwards landed at *Dieppe*, where he met with a very obliging Reception, and an Order sent by King *Louis XI.* to the Bastard of *Bourbon* Admiral of *France*, to assist the *English* Ships against the Duke of *Burgundy's* Fleet, and to protect them against all Attempts. From thence he went to *Amboise*, where the King received him in a Manner suitable to the great Affection that he bore him, and the high Esteem which he had of his Person: For the Wars which had blemished the Reputation of *England*, had acquired him a great Character, and the various Battles which he had fought, generally with Success, and always with good Conduct and great Valour, had rendered him the most famous Captain in *Europe*.

And reconciled to
Queen
Margaret.

QUEEN *Margaret*, who was then at *Angers*, came to *Amboise*, with her Son the Prince of *Wales*, to see this new Exile. The Resemblance of their Miseries, and the Sympathy of their Calamities induced her to make this Voyage: For otherwise none could

could have greater Reason than she to hate the Earl of *Warwick*, who had ruined the Fortune of King *Henry* her Husband, had defeated him in the Field, and reduced him to the wretched Condition of being a Prisoner in the *Tower of London*. *Louis XI.* was of Opinion that it would be no small Addition of Strength to Queen *Margaret* to have the Earl engag'd in her Party ; and that it would be no unserviceable Pretext for the Earl to fight in the Behalf of King *Henry*, whose Friends were not inconsiderable. The Difficulty was to create a mutual Confidence between them ; and this could only be done by an Alliance with the House of *Warwick* : For this End he persuaded the Queen to marry the Prince her Son to the Earl's second Daughter, who was named *Anne* : And both Parties giving their Consent, *Warwick*, in order to retrieve his own Misfortunes, allies himself with unfortunate and distressed Royalty. Evils joined together are rather augmented than diminished, and moreover whet one another on to a redoubled Vengeance. *Warwick* was now to fight

for procuring Satisfaction, not only for the Injuries done to his own Family, but also for those done to that of his new Son-in-law. For the chief Articles of this Alliance were, “ That the Duke of *Clarence* “ and the Earl of *Warwick* should not lay “ down their Arms, till they had restored “ King *Henry* to his Throne, or in Case of “ his Demise, had placed his Son thereon; “ and that they should both be declared “ Regents and Governors of the Kingdom, “ till Prince *Edward* was of Age.” After this Marriage King *Louis* fitted out a Fleet, which in six Months Time was ready to put to Sea for restoring the Queen and the Earl of *Warwick* to their former Estate in *England*.

The Duke of Clarence reconciled to his Brother King Edward.

BUT the Duke of *Clarence*, who was present at this Wedding, did not think he had much Reason to be pleased with it: He saw the Party of the House of *Lancaster* going to be raised to such an Height, as easily to crush and extirpate that of *York*. At *Calais* the *Seigneur de Vaucler* saw an Opportunity offered him of shewing the Earl

of

of *Warwick*, that his Address had not hurt his Fidelity, and heard with Pleasure that the King of *France* was arming in his Favour, and that his Affairs looked with a better Aspect. *Philip de Commynes*, who was then at *Calais*, had Orders from the Duke of *Burgundy* to press him to turn out of the Town about thirty Gentlemen in the Earl of *Warwick's* Service; for fear, in Case of any favourable Success happening to the Earl, these Men should raise a Sedition in *Calais*, which it would be difficult to suppress, and perhaps make themselves Masters of the Place. *Vaucler* took him aside, and assured him, " That he would take care to be always absolute Commander of the Town; but if the Duke of *Burgundy* was minded to do a good Office to the King his Brother-in-law, he should rather endeavour to pacify the two Parties, for which an Occasion then offered; for a Lady sent from *England* had that very Day passed through *Calais* in her Way to the Duchess of *Clarence*, to whom she was going with Overtures of Peace." It was very

very true, that this Woman had assured him this was her Errand ; but in reality her Business was to draw off the Duke of *Clarence* from the Earl's Party, and to represent to him, that he must be utterly blind, if he did not see that the Restoration of the House of *Lancaster* would be attended with the total Ruin of his own. The Duke, who had already entertained the same Apprehensions, promised the Lady, " That as soon as he " was got into *England*, he would return " to King *Edward's* Service, and in the " mean time he desir'd this Resolution might " be kept secret." Thus was *Vaucher* deceiv'd. Embassadors have in all Cases great Privileges, but Ladies have still greater, when they are sent on Embassies ; they have those of their Charge and those likewise of their Sex. *Vaucher* was an able clever Man ; yet was imposed on by this Lady, serving for an Example to shew of what Consequence it is for a Governor to be always on his Guard, and that in Matters of State, Mistrust is an excellent Virtue.

THESE

THESE Things happened in the Year of our Lord 1470, and in the ninth of *Edward's* Reign. This Prince was very uneasy at the News of the Forces which the Earl of *Warwick* was raising in *France*: He knew very well that the Earl was a valiant Captain, of great Experience and excellent Conduct; that the *English* loved him infinitely, and expected his Return with Impatience, so that he had Reason to dread Enemies within as well as without his Kingdom. To prevent the Danger which threatened him from abroad, he tried to divert *Louis XI.* from giving his Enemy those Succours which he had in Readiness; and for this Purpose sent a Gentleman to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* his Brother-in-law, who had lately made Peace with *Louis*, desiring him to use his Instances with him for that Purpose. *Charles* readily undertook the good Office recommended to him, but did it (as he used to do every thing else) with Heat, waving the Arts and Motives of Persuasion, and endeavouring to intimidate *Louis* by Menaces: But all the Answer he received

King Edward endeavours in vain to divert Louis XI. from assisting Warwick.

received from this Prince was, " That he
 " might, without any Breach of the Peace,
 " succour his afflicted Friends, and particu-
 " larly such as had acquired an immortal
 " Renown by their Valour, which the Earl
 " of *Warwick* had done, and he should
 " spare neither Trouble nor Expence to as-
 " sist so great a Man."

Warwick
 lands at
 Dart-
 mouth and
 raises a
 mighty
 Army.

HE made good his Word ; the Men,
 Ships, Arms, Ammunition and Money ne-
 cessary for the Expedition lay ready at the
 Mouth of the *Seine* for his Assistance. The
 Earl of *Warwick* received at the same time
 Letters out of *England*, assuring him that
 the People were ready with Arms, and pre-
 pared to receive him ; and all the World
 expected him in the Kingdom with the ut-
 most Impatience. This made him hasten
 his Departure, and coming down to *Hon-
 fleur*, he found a strong Fleet of the Duke
 of *Burgundy's* lying at the Mouth of the
 River to intercept his Passage. He called a
 Council of War to consider of attacking
 them ; but during the Consultation there
 arose a furious Storm which dispersed the
 Enemy's

Enemy's Fleet, driving some of the Ships as far as the Coast of *Scotland*, and leaving the Sea open. The Earl arrived at *Dartmouth* six Months after he had sailed from that Port, and landing his Men, made Proclamation where-ever he marched, in *King Henry's* Name, commanding all his Subjects able to bear Arms, to repair to the Standard, and assist him with their Persons against *Edward* Duke of *York*, who, like an Usurper, with-held from him his Crown and Patrimony. His Friends took Arms and joined him from all Quarters; his Army was in a few Days vastly increased, some say to sixty thousand Men; he saw himself in a Condition to march directly against *King Edward*.

THE News of his March encouraged People to rise in distant Places: The *Kentishmen* assembled in great Numbers, and drew towards *London*. The Archbishop of *York* and the Marquis of *Montacute* had, after their Brother's leaving the Kingdom, reconciled themselves to *Edward*, and taken an Oath of Fidelity to him, hoping by that

M Means

Means to save their Family from the Ruin with which it was threatned. But the King should have considered, that Nature is very powerful; that the Ties of Blood are too strong to be easily dissolved; that the Division of Brothers into opposite Factions is always to be suspected; and a wise General or Minister of State can never take too great Precautions to be assured of them. He certainly hath less Reason to depend on their faithful Service and Adherence to his Interest, when he hath hurt theirs, and disoblinded them by Acts of Discourtesy and Unkindness. *Edward* immediately after his Victory at *Towton*, had given *Montacute*, as a Reward for his Services, all the Estate of *Henry Percy*, the third Earl of *Northumberland*, who was killed in fighting against him in that Battle. Afterwards, being jealous of the Earl of *Warwick's* Merits, Power and Popularity, and minded to depress a Family which he thought too powerful, (though to that Power he owed his Crown) he took that Estate away from *Montacute* and gave it back to *Thomas Percy*, Son to
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the late Earl of *Northumberland*, without any Recompence or Consideration to the other, but a bare empty Title: Yet by a strange Mistake he imagined, that he might receive Services from the Man whom he had thus treated, and who otherwise could not be supposed to embark heartily in Measures for the Destruction of his own Brother and Family.

THE Earl of *Warwick* was too wise a General to lose time, when at the Head of an Army superior to his Enemy. He advanced by long Marches, and encamped within three Leagues of *Edward*, who lay with his Forces near *Nottingham*. The Marquis of *Montacute* had raised a Body of six thousand Men near *London*, and had drawn them towards the King, as if he intended to join him with that Reinforcement: But upon his Brother's Advance, and finding all his Men inclinable to that Party, he carried them to the Earl of *Warwick*. This News, and the general Acclamations that ran through all Parts of *King Henry* and a *Warwick*, made *Edward* distrust his own

He marches directly to attack King Edward.

Soldiers, and call a Council of his Friends to consider what was to be done in this Emergence. The chief of these, and the Person who had most of his Confidence, was the Lord *Hastings*, Chamberlain of his Household, who had married a Sister of the Earl of *Warwick*, but a Man of incomparable Fidelity to his Master King *Edward*. His Council were unanimous in their Opinion, that it was best to give Way to the Tide which was turned against him; that there was not the least Prospect of their being able to make Head against the Enemy; and considering the extreme Danger in which he was, he ought to take the only Remedy left, which was that of getting to the Sea Side, and making his Escape to *Holland*.

*Who flies
into Hol-
land.*

PURSUANT to this Resolution, *Edward* left his Camp in the dead of the Night, and with a Party only of eight hundred Horse, of whose Affection he was best assured, marched with great Diligence into *Lincolnshire*. *Warwick* having Advice of his Retreat, sent a Body of Light Horse to

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overtake him, and followed with the rest of his Army. The King however got safe to *Lynne*, having lost all his Carriages in passing the Washes, and immediately embarked with his Brother the Duke of *Gloucester* and some other Lords on board some Vessels that lay in the Harbour. The Lord *Hastings* was left behind to dismiss the Army, advising them to give Way to Fortune and submit to the Earl of *Warwick*, but still to remember the Allegiance they had sworn, whenever an Opportunity of Service should offer: And as soon as he had perform'd this Office, he hasted to the Sea Side, and got a quick Passage over into *Holland*. In this Manner did King *Edward* lose his Crown, and quit his Kingdom, without striking a Stroke, eleven Days after the Earl of *Warwick's* landing, and saved himself in *Holland*, without any Train or Equipage, Money or Cloaths, besides his military Habit. *Philip de Commines* mentioning this Event, says in his natural way of Expression, *That he had neither Cross nor Pile.*

*Narrowly
escapes be-
ing taken
at Sea.*

FORTUNE, which had driven him out of *England* from the Land, which is a stable Element, continued to persecute him upon the Sea, where she more frequently delights in exercising her Inconstancy. *Edward* was scarce out of Sight of the Shore, when some *Easterling* Pyrates gave chase to his Ship; so that the Sailors were forced to clap on all their Sails, and make as fast as possible to the next Shore of *Holland*. The *Easterlings* pursued them so close, that the *English* durst not offer to land, but under the Shelter of some Fort or Town. This obliged them to fall lower than the first Coast, and endeavour to put into *Alckmaer*, a Town of *North Holland*; but the Ebb being fallen too low for their entering the Haven, they were forced to anchor in the Road. The *Easterlings* came as near as they durst, for fear of running on Ground, their Ship being very large, and lay by till the next Tide, intending at the Flood to lay them aboard. In the mean time Lord *Hastings* had landed in *Holland*, and hearing no News of the King's landing, sent Couriers

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to all the Ports to give Notice that his Majesty was upon the Coast in order to make a Visit to the Duke and Duchefs of *Burgundy*. The *Seigneur de la Groothuse*, Governor of that Province, being informed thereof, and suspecting that the King was on board one of the Ships chased into *Alckmaer* Road by the *Easterlings*, mann'd out a Boat to carry a Message to them, importing that as the King of *England* was in League with his Master, if they offered to attack or molest those *English* Ships, they must expect to be fired at from the Town, and to feel the Duke of *Burgundy's* Resentment. *Edward* hereupon was suffered to go quietly on Shore, but in such Distress, for want of Money, that all the Present he could make the Master of the Vessel that carried him, was his Baggage and a Robe furr'd with Sables, promising him a better Recompence whenever he was able, having brought nothing out of *England* but the Desire of returning thither. *Groothuse* judging of his Wants from that Action, equipped him with new Apparel, supplied him

with Money, and conducted him to the *Hague*, where he waited the Duke's coming.

QUEEN *Elizabeth*, *Edward's* Consort, was in the mean time in a very uneasy and deplorable Situation in *London*. The *Kentishmen* plundered in the Neighbourhood of the City, and all the Accounts she received of her Husband's Affairs, representing them as falling to Ruin, she began almost to repent of that glorious Change and Elevation of her Condition, to which Fortune seemed to have raised her, purely to make her Fall the greater. She conceiv'd the *Tower*, where she was lodged, would prove but a sorry Defence, insufficient to protect her from the Rage of her Enemies, and resolved to take Refuge in the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, the Holiness of which Place had ever served to secure all Sorts of Persons from Violence. She secretly in the Night quitted the *Tower*, and went by Water to *Westminster*, getting safe into the Sanctuary, where she was soon after brought to Bed of a Son, named *Edward*; a Prince born in an *Asylum*, if there

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were any such in the World, to guard against the Injuries of Fortune, as there are against those of Men. But this Infant found after his Father's Death, that whatever is the Place of a Man's Birth, he must still be subject to Fortune, and be obliged to suffer all her various Motions and Inconstancies: For the Duke of *Gloucester*, his Uncle, deprived him of his Throne, took Possession of it himself; and, that he might have no Competitor for the Crown, caused him to be secretly and inhumanly murder'd.

THE Earl of *Warwick* having gained his Point without Bloodshed, was in Consequence of his Victory and of the King's Flight, entire Master of the Kingdom. *Edward's* Army submitting to him, he joined it to his own, and marched directly to *London*, which he enter'd in a triumphant Manner, and was welcomed by the Acclamations of all the World. No Body dared to oppose him; most of the King's Friends being fled to avoid the Fury of their Enemies, and some Gentlemen that stay'd behind, and were still faithful to their Master,

King Henry set at Liberty, and restored to the Throne.

not caring to make their Court to the Earl as others did, follow'd the Queen's Example and retired into the Sanctuary of *Westminster*, choos'ing rather to live miserable and loyal, than to be free and happy by a Breach of their Fidelity. *Warwick* upon his Arrival at *London* went to the *Tower* to free King *Henry* from the Prison, into which he had formerly put him ; and as at that time he had taken from him the Name of King, calling him a Traytor, and charging him with High Treason, so he now restored him the Title, crying before him, *Long live King Henry*, and cloathing him with the Robes of Majesty. *Richard Lee*, Mayor of *London*, and the two Sheriffs *Robert Drop* and *Richard Gardiner*, with the Aldermen, Common Council and People of the Place followed the King in a solemn Procession to the Church of *St. Paul's*, where he went to return Thanks to God for the Recovery of his Liberty and Crown. From thence *Warwick* conducted him to the Palace at *Westminster*, and put him again on the Throne, in the Prefence of the Duke
of

of *Clarence*, to whom that Sight could not well be agreeable. He saw the House of *Lancaster*, the Enemy of that from which he was descended, mounted on the Royal Seat, which his own Brother had been forced to quit. But this unhappy Prince had not so great an Interest in these Changes as he imagined; for his Brother *Edward* returning some time after from his Exile, and being replaced on the Throne, ordered him, upon some slight Suspicions, to be put to death; and giving him leave to choose the Manner of it, the Duke of *Clarence* chose to put an End at once to his Life and Thirst in a Butt of Malmsey.

THE News of the Earl of *Warwick's* Success soon passed the Sea, and arriving in *France*, gave *Louis XI.* who had contributed to it by his Succours, very great Satisfaction. The Duke of *Burgundy* on the contrary was as much grieved, rather out of the Fear he had of the Earl, whom he considered as his Enemy, than for the Loss of King *Edward* his Brother-in-law: For he really wish'd better to the House of *Lancaster*,

caster, than he did to that of *York*; and kept about him in his Court the Dukes of *Exeter* and *Somerſet*, zealous Servants of *Henry VI.* *Vaucſer*, Governor of *Calais* was transported to ſee an Occaſion offer'd him of expreſſing the Fidelity he owed to the Earl his Benefactor: He put upon his Hat, and made all the Officers of the Garriſon wear the Earl's Livery, which was a black ragged Staff. *Philip de Commynes*, who was ſent to *Calais* by the Duke of *Burgundy*, ſaw them there wearing theſe Badges of Gold on their Heads, whiſt the Soldiers and Inhabitants, who could not afford any ſo rich, wore others of Cloth. Queen *Margaret* now ſaw, with incredible Joy, good Fortune returned to viſit her Houſe, her Huſband reſtored to his Liberty, and replaced on the Throne of *England*. She received the firſt News of the Succeſs by the Earl's Letters, and that of the King's Liberty by the Letters of the King himſelf, who after an Imprisonment of ten Years was reſtored to the Exerciſe of his Royalty on *October* the fixth, 1471. A Parliament

was

was immediately summon'd to meet at *Westminster*, in which *Edward* was declared an Usurper, and an Enemy to his Country, many of his Adherents attainted of High Treason, and their Estates confiscated. The Earl of *Warwick* received the Elogium of having deserved well of the Kingdom, and was made Governor General of it with the Duke of *Clarence*. Such were the Changes which the new Fortune of *Henry VI.* brought about in *England*; but as it may have been already observed, that the Felicities of this Prince were of short Duration, and his Misfortunes of long Continuance, so this will appear to be of the same Nature: Fortune never favoured him, but in order to render him more miserable.

Edward was not unactive in his Exile, but took all the Measures he could think of for his Restoration. He held a constant Correspondence with *London*, where the People loved him, and the wealthy Merchants were interested in his Fortune. The City Dames intrigued for him; and employed all their Wits, their Beauty, their Charms
and

King Edward solicites the Duke of Burgundy for Succours.

and Influence continually for his Return. He had gone from the *Hague* to *St. Pol*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* kept his Court, to crave Succours of Men and Ships to carry him into *England*, where he was expected by his Partisans with so much Zeal, that he wanted nothing else for his Restoration. He conjured the Duke, in the Name of God, the Protector of Kings, not to abandon him on this important Occasion, and to remember that he was doubly obliged to assist him, both as Brothers of the same Orders of Knighthood, (for they had reciprocally sent to one another, those of the Garter and the Golden Fleece) and as Brothers by Alliance of Marriage.

*He lands
in Eng-
land, and
marches to
London.*

THE Duke, who had broke with *France*, and was in War with that Crown, did not care to break at the same time with *England*, and so bring upon himself two of the most potent Kingdoms in *Europe*. He refused in Publick all that *Edward* demanded, but under-hand supplied him with 50000 Florins of Gold, (a notable Sum in those Days) and four great Ships which were fit-

ted

ted out at the Port of *Vere* in *Holland*. The King embarked in that Port, and after having in vain attempted to land in *Effex*, and been grievously tossed in a Storm, landed in *Yorkshire*, and advanced towards *London*. His Cabal was very strong in that Place, the Sanctuaries and Franchises of the City were full of his Creatures, serving for a Refuge to no less than two thousand of them, and among these were four hundred Knights of Figure and Distinction, who did not a little contribute to his Restoration. Those *Asylums* and privileged Places, which in that Age were inviolable, did frequently great Disservice to the Prince that governed, who, by that Means, was not always Master of his Subjects, even in the Seat of his Empire. *Edward* no sooner appeared at the Gates of *London*, than all the City declared for him, and he entered it, not like a Man returned from Banishment, but with all the Pomp of a Sovereign.

KING *Henry* abandoned by *John Stock-* King Henry
impri-
soned.
ton the Mayor, by *Crosby* and *Ward* the Sheriffs, and by the Citizens in general, was
taken

taken in the Bishop of *London's* House and again imprisoned. This sudden Change of his Fortune happen'd on *April* the eleventh, 1471, six Months after *Edward* had left *England* to retire into *Holland*. The principal Causes of this King's making himself so easily Master of *London*, were the Partisans he had in the privileged Places, the Women of the City who loved him, and the Merchants of whom he had borrowed Money, and to whom he was still indebted; so that Love and Debts, which ruin other Men, served to save this Prince. In *London* his Creditors were of his Party for their own Interest, and the Women, to whom he had made Love, gained him their Husbands, in Hopes that their Affections would be likewise crowned. *Henry*, who had never made Love nor borrowed Money, found no Friends in his capital City, and his Virtue contributed innocently to his Ruin, as *Edward's* Vices helped him to re-ascend the Throne: So very different are the Instruments which Fortune makes use of, for the Advancement as well as for the Ruin of Men.

KING

KING *Edward* made but a short Stay in *London*, being obliged to march out of it on *Easter Eve* (*April 13.*) with all the Troops he could muster, to meet the Earl of *Warwick*, who was advancing against him with a strong Army. *Edward* was as yet the weaker, but was well assured of being the stronger before he came up with the Enemy. The Duke of *Clarence*, who had treated of an Accommodation with him, by Means of the Lady that went over into *France*, had sent him fresh Assurances to *London*, that as soon as he could come up with him he would desert to him with all his Forces. In Confidence of this Assurance King *Edward* advanced on *Easter Eve* as far as *Barnet*, posting himself in the Town, whilst the Earl of *Warwick*, who had marched that Day from *St. Albans*, encamped in the Field without, intending to give Battle the next Morning. In the Night the Duke of *Gloucester* went to speak with his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, and after some private Discourse together, the latter went over with twelve thousand Followers to King *Edward*. The Earl of *War-*

*Clarence
deserts the
Earl of
Warwick.*

N

wick

wick had no Manner of Apprehension of such a Disaster, and the Astonishment which seized him on that Occasion, might well have obliged him to wait the coming up of the Forces which *Queen Margaret* had brought with her out of *France*.

*Queen
Margaret
lands in
England.*

THAT *Queen* had been at the Sea Side from *November* till that time: The Earl of *Warwick* had gone some Months before to the *English* Coast, and waited a long time in vain to receive her; but the Winds had ever been contrary, so that she could not land till the Week before *Easter*. She brought with her the Prince of *Wales* her Son, *Edmund* Duke of *Somerset*, *Thomas Courtenay* Earl of *Devonshire*, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*, with a good Number of Gentlemen of noble Families, all Partisans of the House of *Lancaster*. These, with the *English* that upon her landing resorted to her and joined her Forces, made up a powerful Army: But the Earl of *Warwick*, being jealous of the Duke of *Somerset*, who was about the *Queen*, and was likewise his mortal Enemy, for having slain his Father and Brother in Battle, resolved to fight, weak as
he

he was, without waiting for any Reinforcement, that the Queen might owe her better Fortune entirely to himself.

PURSUANT to this Resolution, he early in the Morning on *Easter Day* attacked the Enemy, and defeated almost all the King's Vanguard, piercing even to the main Battle. Then putting himself on Foot at the Head of a Battalion of choice Men, he attacked that where King *Edward* was, who fought as bravely in his own Person as any Officer in his Army. All the Strefs of the Action lay upon the Foot in this memorable Engagement, which made a final Decision of the Dispute for one of the finest Crowns in *Europe*. The Earl of *Warwick* had always used to fight on Horseback, to give Orders where it was necessary, or to break into the Enemy's Ranks Sword in Hand, as Occasions offered; and if he saw a Defeat unavoidable, he could then the more easily retire: But the Marquis of *Montacute* had this Day persuaded him to fight on Foot, and to send back his Horses, as resolved either to conquer or die. The Battle was long and bloody; for *Edward*, who in o-

*The Battle of
Barnet.*

ther Engagements used to cry, *Save the People and kill the Lords*, had changed his Note this Day, and ordered his Men to put all to the Sword. The Victory, after an obstinate Dispute, fell to King *Edward's* Lot: His Enemies were entirely defeated. The Earl of *Warwick*, seeing his Men give Ground, and having in vain endeavoured to rally them, rushed into the Midst of the Enemy, and killing several with his own Hand, fell dead at last cover'd with Wounds; a Death truly worthy of so great a Man. The Marquis of *Montacute* his Brother had the like Fate. Thus ended the Life and Enterprizes of *Richard Nevil* Earl of *Warwick*, one of the first Captains of his Age, who arrived at such a Degree of Power in *England*, by the Valour of his Arms, the Generosity of his Heart, and the Nobleness of his Conduct, that he set up and deposed Kings, took away and restored them their Liberty, chased them from the Throne, and placed them thereon, as it suited his Affections, keeping, as it were, the Royal Fortune in his Hands.

THE Day after this Victory King *Ed-*

ward returned to *London*, and went to *St. Paul's* to return Thanks for his Victory. He brought back with him King *Henry*, whom he had carried along with him in his Army, to shew his Enemies that he had their King in his Power, and he now sent the poor Prince in mean Attire through the City to the *Tower*, where he remained a Prisoner the rest of his Life. The Bodies of the Earl of *Warwick* and the Marquis of *Montacute* were stripp'd stark naked, put into two Coffins, and, by the King's Order, exposed for two Days together in the Cathedral of *St. Paul's*, to the View of all the World; that no Body might doubt of their Death, and that with them might be extinguished all the Hopes of a Party, whose Strength had often endangered the Ruin of his own, but all whose Vigour depended on the Life of the Earl of *Warwick*. After these Brothers had thus been made a Spectacle of Mortality, and the Object of their Spectators Spight, Scorn or Pity, they were permitted to be carried to the Monastery of *Bisham* in *Berkshire*, and there in one Grave interred among their Ancestors of the House

of *Montacute*, who had founded that Priory.

*Queen
Margaret
takes Sanctu-
ary, but
quits it to
try the Fate
of a Bat-
tle.*

QUEEN *Margaret* detain'd on the *French* Coast by the Winds, (which forgetting their natural Inconstancy, blew constantly against her for five Months together) from landing in time to prevent these Disasters, received the unwelcome Tidings thereof soon after her Arrival at *Weymouth*. She was ready to expire with Grief at the News, and her Constancy was too weak to support her under so great an Adversity. She knew that the King her Husband was again a Captive, and the Earl of *Warwick* slain; so that her dearest Hopes were in Prison, and her best Support in the Grave. She was seized immediately with a terrible Consternation, and giving all for gone, took Refuge with the Prince her Son, (for whom her Fears were greatest) in the Sanctuary of *Beaulieu*, a *Cistercian* Monastery in *Hampshire*. Her Design was to get back to *France*, and there attend once again a more favourable Juncture and better Turn of Fortune, or at least to get her Son a safe Passage to that Country. But the Duke of *Somerſet*, with his Brother *John Beaufort*, *Jasper* Earl of *Pembroke*,

broke, the Earl of Devon, Lord Wenlock, John Longstrother Prior of St. John's, and others repairing to her, persuaded her once more to draw her Forces together and try the Fortune of a Battle. " The People " (said they) are all for you, being more " than ever averse to *Edward*, since his ordering them to be massacred in the last " Battle : The Gentry of the Kingdom are " in Arms, desiring your Presence, and " waiting your Orders ; and as for the Success of the Enterprize, Victory hath " Wings, and passeth lightly from one Side " to the other. *Edward* shall not be the " eternal Possessor of the Throne ; and depend, Madam, upon Providence giving it " to the Justice of your Arms, if you are " not wanting to your self, and do your " best to make so glorious an Acquisition.

THE unhappy Queen resolved to follow their Advice, and prepared for a Battle. *Edward* having Advice of her Arrival and Resolution, marched against her with his victorious Army, and meeting her near *Tewksbury* in *Gloucestershire* on May the fourth, a Battle was there fought, which made him the hap-

Battle of Tewksbury, in which she is taken Prisoner.

piest Monarch of his time, and *Margaret* the most miserable Princess in the World. For *Edward* gained the Victory, defeated the Queen's Army, took her Prisoner, with the Prince her Son, and slew almost all the Officers of Figure that attended her to the Field. The Duke of *Somerset*, the Prior of *England*, and about twenty Persons of Quality, that had taken Sanctuary in the Abbey of *Tewksbury*, were taken from thence by Force and beheaded the next Day.

Her Son
Prince
Edward
murdered.

THE Prince of *Wales* was brought to *Edward*, who asking him, "How he dared
" to enter his Kingdom in Arms, and raise
" Disturbances and Insurrections in it?"
The young Prince answered, with great
Resolution and Presence of Mind, "That
" he was come to recover the Crown of his
" Fathers, as their true and rightful Suc-
" cessor." *Edward* made no Reply, but sig-
nified by the Motion of his Hand, that they
should take him out of his Presence. This
was scarce done, when the Dukes of *Glou-*
cester and *Clarence*, *Thomas Grey* Marquis
of *Dorset*, and the Lord Chamberlain *Haf-*
tings, stabbed him into the Breast with their
Daggers ;

Daggers ; an Act of Cruelty generally condemned and called to Mind by the People, when every one of those that had a Hand in this Assassination came to an untimely End. The Corps of the murdered Prince was carried to a *Benedictine* Convent in the Neighbourhood, and there interred with those of the Nobility and Gentry that were beheaded.

QUEEN *Margaret* was carried Prisoner to *London*, which King *Edward* entered on *May* the twenty first, in a triumphant Manner. She was there to meet with new Subjects of Grief ; for that very Night the Duke of *Gloucester*, to extinguish at once all the Hopes of the *Lancastrian* Faction, went to the *Tower*, where King *Henry* was kept Prisoner, and stabbed him to the Heart. The Body of this murder'd Prince was carried the next Day from the *Tower*, (attended by Halberdeers, as if they were leading a Criminal to Execution) through the City to *St. Paul's*, where it lay in an open Coffin bare-faced for a whole Day, exposed to the View of all the World, and was afterwards buried in a *Benedictine* Monastery at *Chertsey*,
without

without the least Funeral Solemnity : But some time afterwards King *Edward* ordered it to be removed to *Windſor*, where it was reposed in the Royal Chapel, and an handsome Monument erected to his Memory. Thus ended the Life of *Henry VI.* after a Reign of thirty eight Years : a Prince as cruelly persecuted by ill Fortune as ever any was that swayed a Scepter. He was possessed of two Crowns when but an Infant in the Cradle, but lived to see them both lost, and at last descended to the Grave, without any Mark of Royalty : a Prince of excellent Morals, singular Virtue and rare Piety. The *English* looked upon him as a Saint : And *Henry VII.* one of his Successors, solicited the Court of *Rome* to canonize him ; but his Death prevented the Grant of that Request. His Misfortunes were so many Subjects of his Merit, and his Patience triumphed over all his Adversities, leaving to Posterity an illustrious Example to shew, “ That the Felicities of
 “ this World are not always a Mark of the
 “ Virtue of the Person who enjoys them ;
 “ and that the best Princes are not always
 “ the most happy.

QUEEN

QUEEN *Margaret*, the Partner of his Bed and Throne, was likewise his Companion in all his Miseries ; and that there might be none of any kind in which she had not her Share, Fortune had now condemned her to an Imprisonment, from which she had little Hopes of being freed. Her Father *René*, the titular King of *Sicily*, was in no Condition to pay such a Ransom, as was likely to be demanded for her Liberty. His Virtues had not exempted him from Misfortunes ; his Necessities had been great all his Life, and his Wants were now greater than ever. He had married *Isabella*, Daughter of *Charles I.* Duke of *Lorraine* and Heir-ess of that Duchy, which was solemnly adjudged to him by an *Imperial* Decree ; but in asserting her Rights against *Anthony* Count of *Vaudemont*, Uncle to *Isabella*, and the Heir Male of the Family, he was defeated, and with the Battle lost his Liberty. After five Years tedious Imprisonment he indeed recovered his Freedom ; but in order to be involved in new Troubles. Queen *Jane* of *Naples* left him her Heir, but in disputing with the House of *Arragon* for her Succession,

Misfortunes of René Father to Queen Margaret.

fion, he underwent various Turns of Fortune, and great Variety of Dangers ; but was at last driven entirely out of the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Duchy of *Lorrain* also upon the Death of his Wife, went away to *Ferry*, (Son of *Anthony de Vaudemont*), who had married *Yolande* his eldest Daughter, who by the Death of her Mother, and all her Brothers, was the true Heirefs of that Duchy. The County or Duchy of *Anjou* was given him upon the Marriage of his second Daughter *Margaret* to *Henry VI.* by a Treaty to which that King and *Charles VII.* of *France* were Parties. But though he had done great Services to the *French* in the Conquest of *Normandy*, and expelling the *English* out of *France*, *Louis XI.* thought fit to seize *Angers*, and all the Province of *Anjou* into his own Hands. It was the Country in which *René* took Delight above all others, and it was with great Regret that he was obliged to quit it ; but he was too old to engage in a War, and too weak to contend with the Power of *France*. This Affliction was the greater, because unexpected and brought up-

on

on him by a Prince whom he conceiv'd to be his Friend ; but having no Remedy besides Patience, he retired into the County of *Provence* (the only Part of his Dominions now left him) to spend the rest of his Days. This he did in perfect Tranquillity, taking great Delight in rural Amusement, till *July* the tenth, 1480, when he died at *Aix* in the seventy second Year of his Age ; his Corps being first interr'd in that Place, but afterwards transported to *Angers*.

NOTHING disturbed the Quiet of *René* in that Retirement, but the miserable Condition of his Daughter *Margaret*, whom he was not able to deliver from her Imprisonment. He had been treated too ill by *Louis XI.* to expect any thing from the Friendship and Generosity of that Prince : He knew what Favours were got from him, must be obtained by Purchase, and therefore gave the Succession of *Provence* as the Price of his Daughter's Liberty. *Louis* and *René* met at *Lyons* in the Year 1475, where, after a Multitude of Caresses from the former, *René* made his Will, and by an irrevocable Act declared him his Heir in the County of *Provence*, upon Condition, " That *Louis* should pay the Queen of *Sicily*,
" *René's*

*Treaty for
Queen
Marga-
ret's Li-
berty.*

“ *René’s* second Wife, if she survived him, a
 “ reasonable and sufficient Dower, procure
 “ the Liberty of his Daughter *Margaret*
 “ Queen of *England*, and assign her an an-
 “ nual Pension in *France* to support her Train
 “ and enable her to live honourably accor-
 “ ding to her Rank and Quality.” In Conse-
 quence of this Agreement *Louis* treated with
Edward IV. for the Ransom of Queen *Mar-*
garet, which was at last settled on *November*
 the thirteenth, in the same Year, in Confide-
 ration of the Sum of 50000 Crowns of Gold,
 which the King of *France* was to pay *Ed-*
ward, and of *Margaret’s* renouncing all Claim
 to any Dower, Jewels, or other Things to
 which she might be entitled or pretend a
 Right, on Account of her Marriage with
 King *Henry*.

She renoun-
ces her
Dower in
England,
and all
Claim to
her Fa-
ther’s Ter-
ritories in
France.

PURSUANT to this Treaty, Queen *Mar-*
garet was on *January* the twenty ninth fol-
 lowing deliver’d by Sir *Thomas de Montgomery*,
 King *Edward’s* Embassador to *John D’Han-*
gest *Sieur de Jenlis*, and *John Raguenet* Receiver
 General of *Normandy*, appointed by *Louis* to
 receive her at *Rouen*. *Margaret* at the same
 time made a Renunciation of her Dower, and

every

every thing she could claim in *England*: and on the first of *March* following, in Consideration of the Services which the King of *France* had done her, in assisting her and her Son with Money and Ships in her last Expedition into *England*, and of what he had paid for her Ransom, she made a Cession to him of all the Rights she had or might have in the Duchies of *Anjou*, *Lorraine* and *Bar*, as well as in the County of *Provence*. Thus divested of all Power of which she had been once in Possession, and hopeless of any further Greatness in this World, she retired into *Anjou* to pass the Remainder of her Days in a private Manner, without a Crown, without a Husband or a Son, but not without Grief and Melancholy.

MARGARET, after the Death of her Father, being his only surviving Issue, made on *October* 19, 1480. at the Castle of *Reculée* near *Angers*, a second Cession to *Louis XI.* of the Provinces of *Lorraine*, *Bar* and *Provence*. This unfortunate Heroine died of Grief in the Parish of *Dampierre* near *Saumur*, at the House of *Francis de la Vignolle Seigneur de Moraens*, who had been Officer of the

Household of King *René*, and was Brother to *John de la Vignolle* Dean of the Church of *Angers*. This happen'd in the Year 1482, and she was buried in the magnificent Tomb of her Father, but without any Epitaph or Inscription particular to her. What was wanting to her Honour in this Respect, was in some Measure supplied in a different way: For every Year, on the Feast of *All-saints*, the Chapter of *St. Maurice*, after Vespers of the Dead, make a semicircular Procession about the Tomb, and sing a *Subvenite* for this Queen.

THE Calamities of her Life gave Warning then to the Princesses of her Time, that Fortune takes a Pride in attacking Crowns, and that the Grandeurs of the World are not a sufficient Protection to any Body from the Strokes she gives in her Fury. The Monument which covers and preserves her Ashes in the Church of *St. Maurice* at *Angers*; and this History, which serves to raise her again from the Grave with all her Misfortunes, will tell the same Truth to those of this Age, that whether they find Comfort or Entertainment therein, the Subject at least may be useful for their Instruction.

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